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SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE LIFE

OF

RACHAEL WRIOTHESLEY LADY RUSSELL,

BY

THE EDITOR OF MADAME DU DEFFAND'S LETTERS.

FOLLOWED BY

A SERIES OF LETTERS

FROM LADY RUSSELL TO HER HUSBAND,

WILLIAM LORD RUSSELL,

FROM 1672 TO 1682;

TOGETHER WITH

SOME MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS

TO AND FROM LADY RUSSELL.

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TO WHICH ARE ADDED, ELEVEN LETTERS

FROM DOROTHY SIDNEY COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND, TO GEORGE SAVILLE MARQUIS OF HALLIFAX.

IN THE YEAR 1680.

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS

IN THE POSSESSION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

LONDON:

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FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,

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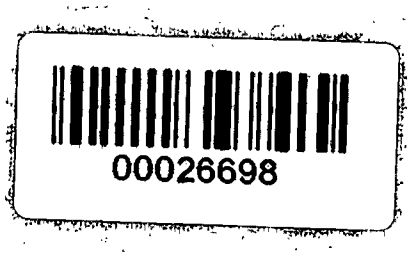
1819.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ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE Letters were sorted and arranged for the Duke of Devonshire, by a friend, to whom he had permitted the examination of a considerable mass of family papers. They were returned to the Duke with the following letter. When he was solicited by several persons, to whom he had communicated Lady Russell's correspondence in its present state, to allow of its publication, the same friend was applied to, for some account of her life. It is here prefixed to the letters.

Those of Lady Russell will be found devoid of every ornament of style, and deficient in almost every particular that constitutes, what are generally called, entertaining letters. Their merit must arise entirely from a previous knowledge of the character and habits of their writer, and from the interest which the subsequent circumstances, in which she was placed, inspire. They are sometimes overcharged, sometimes confused with a repetition of trifling details; and sometimes the use of words antiquated in the signification here given to them, adds to this confusion. Very inconsiderable alterations might

have removed many of these difficulties, but from every alteration the Editor has carefully abstained. The value of the letters depends, not on their intrinsic excellence, but on the reader's previous acquaintance with that of their author.

On Lady Russell's death, these letters, together with other papers, fell into the hands of the Duchess of Devonshire, her only surviving child. That the letters of Lord Russell should not have been preserved by his wife, is hardly credible; yet none of his letters addressed to her are extant, either in the Cavendish or Russell families, except the two or three fragments found among Lady Russell's papers which are given in the following pages.

The Editor has to regret the very insufficient materials from which the following account has been attempted. Such as *it is, it* pretends to little more than the merit of a biographical notice, in which the omission of all supposed and doubtful facts must compensate for the paucity, and sometimes the insignificance of those recorded.

May 29th, 1819.

TO

WILLIAM SPENCER CAVENDISH,

SIXTH

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE,

GREAT, GREAT, GRANDSON

OF

RACHAEL WRIOTHESLEY LADY RUSSELL.

MY DEAR DUKE,

HERE are, at last, the Russell Letters, sorted and catalogued, as I promised. The pleasure I have had, in thus cultivating an intimate acquaintance with the admirable characters of Lord and Lady Russell, would have enabled me soon to have finished my business with their letters, had not my wretched health, for this last twelvemonth, so often interdicted all powers of employment, as even to have made the necessary references, to settle dates, &c. &c., a work of labour to me. Nor am I yet certain that all the dates are right. The day of the month, where any post-mark existed, is generally to be made out; but many of the letters having been sent in covers, or by private hands, are without this guide, and the year, seldom mentioned, can only be guessed by the contents of the letters, and the public events mentioned in them. I have added such notes as I thought necessary to their elucidation.

They are followed by eleven letters from Dorothy Sidney, Countess of Sunderland (the Saccarissa of Waller) to the Marquis of Hallifax, written in the year 1680. These letters belong immediately to the same period: they throw light on Lady Russell's correspondence; and are the more interesting, because the views and principles of the writers are in direct opposition to each other.

Lady Sunderland's letters are entertaining, because they detail the news and politics of the day; but those of Lady Russell have an interest and a charm peculiar to their admirable writer.

The volume of her Letters published have already shown her in the exalted characters of an Heroine and a Saint. In the present Letters, where we are admitted into the inmost recesses of her heart, she appears in the captivating form of the most tender and attached of women. The strain of artless passion, of love exalted by every sentiment of the heart, and of the understanding, which breathes through all those addressed to her lord, make them, certainly, the most touching *Love-Letters* I ever read; while the almost prophetic exhortations they contain, both to him and herself, to be prepared for the loss of a happiness she appreciated so justly, give them a singular interest, when combined with her subsequent misfortune, and the deep and lasting manner in which she felt it. In short, diving so much into her history, by reading so many of her letters, and observing her conduct in every relation of life, I am become such an enthusiast for her character, that I feel proud of being of the same sex and country with her; and among the many honourable distinctions that you inherit from your ancestors, none appear to me more enviable than your near alliance to her blood, her virtues, and her fame.

December 28th, 1815.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE LIFE

OF

RACHAEL WRIOTHESLEY LADY RUSSELL.

THE biographers of those who have been distinguished in the active paths of life, who have directed the councils or fought the battles of nations have, perhaps, an easier task than those who engage to satisfy the curiosity sometimes excited by persons whose situation, circumstances, or sex, have confined them to private life. To the biographers of public characters, the pages of history, and the archives of the state, furnish many of the documents required; while those of private individuals have to collect every particular from accidental materials, from combining and comparing letters and, otherwise insignificant, papers, never intended to convey any part of the information sought in them.

In this predicament is placed the author of the following pages. The veil which covered the unassuming virtues of Lady Russell in early life, naturally increases a desire, in intelligent minds, to become acquainted with her sentiments and situation before she was called to the exercise of the most difficult virtues, and the display of the most heroic courage.

Few of her sex have been placed in such a distinguished situation.

Still fewer, after having so conducted themselves, have, like her, shrunk from all public notice, and returned to the unobtrusive performance of accustomed duties, and the unostentatious consolations of accustomed piety.

The incidents in the life of Lady Russell will be found so few, and her superior merits remain so much confined within the pale of private life and female duties, that, unlike most heroines, her character deserves to be held up yet more to the *example* than to the *admiration* of her country-women.

Lady Rachael Wriothesley was the second daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, by his first wife, Rachael de Ruvigny, of an ancient Hugonot family in France: she was born about the year 1636: her mother died in her infancy; and her father married, for his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Leigh, afterwards created Earl of Chichester, by whom he had four other daughters, one of whom only, survived him.

As Lady Rachael was born at the beginning of those political disturbances which so long agitated England, her early education was probably less sedulously attended to, and fewer means of accomplishment afforded her, than would have been the case in more peaceable times. This may be conjectured from the many grammatical errors, and the often defective orthography in all her unpremeditated letters in early life; until the practice of writing much on her own and her children's affairs, had given her greater habits of correctness.

Lord Southampton, during the first period of the disputes between Charles and his Parliaments, (as his illustrious friend Lord Clarendon informs us,) disapproved of the measures of the court, and conceiving himself also to have been individually oppressed, kept so much aloof from all intercourse with it, that he was considered as one of the peers the most attached to the cause of the people. Lord Stafford's government he also greatly disliked; and it was not till after he had seen the course of justice perverted on his trial, and the popular tide setting so violently against all monarchical government,

that Lord Southampton reluctantly allowed himself to be attached to the court first, by being made a privy councillor, and soon after gentleman of the bedchamber to the King. As he had previously refused to sign the protestation of the two Houses of Parliament, for disabling their members from holding any place, either in Church or State, he was believed to have accepted these offices, expressly to show how little he regarded the framers and advisers of such measures.

He afterwards accompanied the King to York and to Nottingham, was present at Edgehill, and went from thence to Oxford, where he remained with the court during the rest of the war;—a war, of whose success he despaired from the beginning, and during the whole course of which, he was the unvarying and indefatigable advocate of peace. During the conferences at Uxbridge, which lasted twenty days, and which, together with Sir Edward Nicholas, the Secretary of State, he conducted on the part of the King, Lord Clarendon remarks of him, that "although a person naturally loving "his ease, and allowing himself never less than ten hours' repose, he "was then never more than four hours in bed;" bending his whole soul towards effecting an union which he never ceased to consider as the greatest blessing which could befall his afflicted country.

After this attempt, which violence on the one side and obstinacy on the other rendered abortive, Lord Southampton faithfully persevered in his attendance on the daily-diminishing court of the misguided Charles, whilst he was yet a free agent. Afterwards, when he was a prisoner, in the power of his own provoked subjects, now become enraged persecutors, Lord Southampton made every possible attempt to deliver him from their hands (1); and when at length the sacrifice of his life expiated the culpable weaknesses of his character, and eventually secured the permanent liberty of

(1) The King was for some time at Lord Southampton's house at Tichfield, in Hampshire, as the visiter, and under the protection of the old Countess of Southampton, his mother, after he left Hampton Court, and before he was conducted by Colonel Hammond to the Isle of Wight.

his people, Lord Southampton was one of the four faithful servants who asked and obtained permission to pay the last sad duty to his remains, divested of all accustomed ceremonial. After this event Lord Southampton retired to his seat at Tichfield, in Hampshire, obstinately rejecting every subsequent advance from Cromwell to court his friendship or engage his compliance. (1)

During this retirement, which lasted from 1648 to the Restoration, his daughter, Lady Rachael, born about 1636, must have been exactly at the age dedicated to those occupations which it has been agreed to call the education of females.

Under such circumstances, though her opportunities of acquiring the usual accomplishments of her sex and station might be few and insufficient, yet the cultivation of her mind and heart was probably not neglected; and the same integrity of character, the same piety and purity of conduct which distinguished her father, must have been instilled, both by precept and example, into the minds of his children. In Lady Rachael, they were implanted in a soil congenial with every noble sentiment, both of the heart and of the intellect.

Her first ideas on the subject of government we must suppose to have been all favourable to royalty, and to the unfortunate family who had been deprived of its honours. In religion, she was educated a strict Protestant, with every predilection for its doctrines, which her mother's family, professing a faith persecuted in the country to which they belonged, were likely to encourage.

Lord Southampton's liberality of sentiment on matters of religion is thus commemorated by Clarendon, who, in speaking of his toleration towards Dissenters, thinks it proper to make, what must now be considered a very unnecessary apology for his friend's

(1) "When Cromwell was near his house in the country, upon the marriage of his son "in those parts *, and had a purpose to have made him a visit; upon a private notice "thereof, he immediately removed to another house at a greater distance." — Clarendon's Life, p. 414. fol. edition.

* Richard Cromwell was married to a daughter and co-heiress of Richard Major, Esq. of Hursley, in Hampshire.

opinions. "He was a man of exemplary virtue and piety, and very "regular in his devotions; yet was not generally believed by the "bishops to have an affection keen enough for the government "of the Church; because he was willing and desirous that some-"thing more might have been done to gratify the Presbyterians than "they thought just." (1)

To her father's liberal way of thinking on these subjects, she probably owed the pure strain of truly Christian charity as well as piety which runs through her letters, and on all occasions animated her conduct.

Her maternal uncle, the Marquis de Ruvigny, was long at the head of the Protestant interests in France, as Deputy-General of the reformed churches; which, before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was no other than a minister plenipotentiary from the Protestant subjects of France, at the court of their Roman Catholic Sovereign. He is described as having been a very accomplished person, possessing considerable ability, courage, and conduct; and was so much in the favour of Lewis XIV. and Cardinal Mazarin, that he often obtained from them a hearing for those of his persuasion, which they refused to other applicants.

At the synod, which, after the death of Cromwell, in 1659, Lewis XIV. allowed to assemble, he named Ruvigny *Deputé-General*, subject to the approbation of the meeting, while Cardinal Mazarin gave them at the same time to understand, that no other choice would be acceptable to or accepted by the King. (2) Ruvigny at the same time received permission to be present at the deliberations of the synod, and to deliver his opinion there, a liberty refused to former deputies

(1) Continuation of the Life of Clarendon, p. 415. folio edition.

(2) Ruvigny afterwards, for form sake, laid his commission on the table of the synod, that their choice might be *supposed* free; when, with that neglect of truth so common in the conduct of all public affairs in France, "on remercia le Roi du choix qu'il avoit fait, "et de ce qu'il *n'avoit pas voulu imposer la necessité de le suivre*." — Benoit's Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, vol. iii. p. 312.

general, because nothing political was allowed or supposed to be touched on in these assemblies.

Ruvigny had early obtained the favour, and entitled himself to the support of Cardinal Mazarin. During the occasional banishments from the court to which the Frondeurs had compelled that artful minister, Ruvigny had been one of the persons of the reformed religion on whose attachments to his interests, and on whose activity for his return he had the most counted. On the Cardinal's establishment in permanent power, he considered the above appointments as a reward for Ruvigny's services. Ruvigny, however, had other pretensions, but was given to understand, that any military employment, or any further advancement, must be purchased by a change of his religion. To his religion he was sincerely and steadily attached, although it would seem, that, in his character of Deputy-General of the Reformed Church, he was sometimes suspected (by its zealous adherents in the distant provinces) of sacrificing its interests to compliances with the views of the court; while, in fact, his favour with the King and the Cardinal often obtained for his church both a knowledge of the designs of their enemies, and a patient hearing of their grievances. (1)

That he was afterwards employed diplomatically in England by Lewis XIV., was indeed an instance of very extraordinary favour to one of his persuasion. His connections in England, from his sister's alliance there, contributed probably to his first appointment. He was sent with some message of compliment to Charles soon after his restoration, and during the embassy of the Count de Soissons. We afterwards find him accredited in England, and much in the confidence of both courts in the year 1668, from whence he returned to Paris in July of the same year, and was again in London in 1669, while

(1) " Les ministres d'etat etoient inaccessibles pour tout autre que pour lui (*Ruvigny*) " on, s'ils faisoient à quelqu'autre la grace de l'ecouter, ils lui faisoient toujours des re- " ponses désobligeantes." Benoit, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, vol. iv. p. 330.

M. de Comminges was still ambassador to the court at Whitehall. The services or the manners of Ruvigny seem, however, to have been much more agreeable to Charles than those of Comminges; for in a letter to the Duchess of Orleans, his sister, at the beginning of his disgraceful money transactions with France in June, 1669, he desires to avoid telling Comminges (of whose abilities he expresses no good opinion) any thing about the intended treaty, while, in a former letter to the same person, he mentions having "said to Ruvigny every thing that was upon his harte;" and after Colbert had succeeded Comminges as ambassador, regrets, in another letter of the 2d September, 1669, "that France had not been as forward in "their intentions towards us, when Ruvigny was here." On the recall of Colbert in 1674, he was himself made minister-plenipotentiary, and remained so till the appointment of Courtin in 1676. Within ten years afterwards, Ruvigny was indebted to the same especial favour with Lewis XIV. for permission to emigrate to England with his family from his attachment to his religion, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; a permission at that time granted to no other Protestant noble. (1)

In the intermediate time he had exerted himself actively but ineffectually to save the life of Lord Russell, the husband of his niece. It is even said by Dalrymple, on the authority of a letter of Barillon's, of the 19th of July, 1683, in the Depôt des Affaires Etrangeres, at Paris, which he does not give, that the younger Ruvigny had prevailed on Lewis to write to Charles in favour of Lord Russell, and was himself to be the bearer of the letter. That his journey was only prevented by Charles having anticipated the event of every application, civilly telling Barillon—"Je ne veux pas empecher que M. de Ruvigny

(1) He had previously secured to himself and sons letters of naturalization. In a letter of his to Lady Russell, of January, 1680, which accompanied some family papers relative to pecuniary concerns, he says, "Je vous envoie aussi nos lettres de naturalité qui "seront mieux entre vos mains qu'entre les miennes. Je vous prie, et Madame votre "sœur aussi, (*Lady Elizabeth Noel*,) de les conserver. Elles peuvent servir, puisque il "n'y est rien de plus incertain que les evénemens." Devonshire MSS.

" ne vienne ici, mais Milord Russell aura le col coupé avant qu'il " arrive." (1)

The fact, however, of this letter having been ever promised, is more than doubtful, from the following note of the elder Ruvigny to Lady Russell, after Lord Russell's arrest. It makes no mention of any such interference, which he would surely have announced with eagerness to his unhappy niece.

" A Paris, le 14 Juillet, 1683.

" J'ay une grande impatience ma chere niece d'etre pres de vous, il " y a trois jours que le Roi est arrivé il a eu la bonté de consentir à mon " voyage. Si je pourrois courir la poste, je serois bientôt à Londres, " j'achette des cheveaux et je ferai toute la diligence que mon age me " permet. Dieu vous console et vous fortifie."

" Ruvigny." (2)

Of Ruvigny's two sons, the elder (as is known) was killed at the battle of the Boyne, and the second, in defiance of the confiscation of his paternal estate (3), entered into the service of King William, was by him created Earl of Galway, and died unmarried in 1729.

How or when Lord Southampton became acquainted and formed his connection with the Ruvigny family is not known. Such was the total neglect which began to be shown to the Protestants in France at this period, and so much did their religion exclude them from every public record, that the author of these pages, after much enquiry at Paris some months ago, in the King's and other libraries, assisted by those most capable of such researches, has not been able to discover to

(1) In the octavo edition of Sir John Dalrymple, he suppresses the extract from the letter of Barillon, but still leaves the anecdote on his authority.

(2) Bedford MSS.

(3) " Le Roi donna il y a quelques jours, à l'Abbe de Polignac la confiscation des " biens de M. de Ruvigny, qui s'appelle en Angleterre Milord Galway. 10 Mai, 1711." Nouveau Mem. de Dangeau par M. de Monterey, p. 213.

what district of France the family of Ruvigny belonged. (1) Neither is any mention made of it, nor any record of its armorial bearing in any of the genealogical works of France that the author has met with. (2)

Lord Southampton died in 1667. His thoughtless and unfeeling master had, for some time, been desirous to snatch from his dying hand the treasurer's staff which he still held, that he might place it with those, to whom he could with less shame and less fear of remonstrance confide the opprobrious secret of his political dishonour. The disgrace of Clarendon, which happened within a few months after the death of his friend, seems to have formed a melancholy era in the avowed venality and profligacy of the court of Charles. Lord Southampton's second wife dying, he married for the third time, a daughter of Francis Duke of Somerset, widow of Viscount Molyneux. By this third marriage he left no children.

Of his second marriage, one only out of four daughters survived him, who, inheriting her mother's fortune (3), left entire possession of Lord Southampton's estates to the two surviving children of his first

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(1) It is surmised that they were of Brittany, from the circumstance of the Marquis de Ruvigny having been the counsellor and confidant of Marguerite de Rohan, the daughter and heiress of the last Protestant Duc de Rohan, on the subject of a supposed brother, whose birth, her mother, the Duchesse de Rohan, declared she had concealed only to avoid the violence and the artifices of the Roman Catholics, to get possession of the heir to his father's power and influence with the Protestants of France. But as the birth and existence of this son had been concealed even from her husband himself, many doubts were entertained of his legitimacy, which people seemed to have believed, or disbelieved, according to their religious persuasion. His early death in one of the sorties from Paris, during the wars of the Fronde, put an end to the process, which, had it not been for the prudent counsels of Ruvigny, would already have taken place between the brother and sister.

See some curious details on this subject worthy to figure among the Causes Célèbres, in Benoit's Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, vol. iii. p. 54.

(2) The Author has since found their names and arms thus collaterally noted in the *Dictionaire Heraldique, Genealogique, Chronologique, et Historique, par M. D. L. C. D. B.* (M. de la Chesnaye des Bois) — "Massué Seigneur de Rayneval en Picardie, dont les "Marquis de Ruvigni et Milord Galoway, d'azur au cor enguiché d'or." Vol. ii. p. 487.

(3) Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Francis Leigh, afterwards created Earl of Chichester.

marriage, Elizabeth and Rachael, who thus became considerable heiresses. The Lady Elizabeth married Edward Noel, son of Viscount Campden, created afterwards Earl of Gainsborough. The subsequent marriage of the Lady Rachael with Francis Lord Vaughan, eldest son of the Earl of Carberry, about the year 1653, was settled, according to the fashion of that day, by the intervention of parents, and at so early a period of life, that, to use the words in which on a subsequent occasion Lady Russell herself expresses an opinion of early marriages, (founded, perhaps, on her own experience,) in such unions, "it is acceptance "rather than choosing on either side."

But, however little her choice might have been consulted in this connection, her conduct, so long as it lasted, was not only blameless, but such as entitled her to the love of all around her, and to the lasting attachment of her husband's family. We have a letter written so early as the year 1655, when she was living with Lord Vaughan, at his father's house in Wales (1), in which she is thus addressed: —

"Dear Madam,

"There is not in the world so great a charm as goodness; and "Your Ladyship is the greatest argument to prove it. All that know "you are thereby forced to honour you, neither are you to thank "them, because they cannot do otherwise. Madam, I am among "that number, gladly and heartily I declare it, and I shall die in "that number, because my observance of your virtue is inseparably "annexed to it. I beseech you, Madam, to pardon this scribbling, "and present your noble husband with my most affectionate ser- "vice; and I shall in my prayers present you both to God, beg- "ging of him daily to increase your piety to Him, and your love to "each other."

(1) Golden Grove in Carmarthenshire. — At a fire which happened there in 1729, many family papers were destroyed, among which we have probably to regret the means of becoming acquainted with many details of Lady Russell's early life.

Of Lord Vaughan's character, habits, or particular disposition, nothing is to be traced in the materials to which the author of these pages has had access, except we may infer, from a message sent to him in a subsequent letter to his wife from the same correspondent already quoted, that he disliked writing, and was dilatory in all sorts of business, as Lady Vaughan is besought (evidently in raillery) "not hereafter to hinder my Lord Vaughan from writing to me; I "am confident, whatsoever excuse you make for him, he had a "most eager desire to write this week. I know his Lordship so "well, that he cannot delay to make returns of civility. If it "had been his custom to defer and put off to the last hour, I "might believe your Ladyship: but in this particular, I must beg "your Ladyship's pardon. I was at Abscourt the last week, and "found Mr. Estcourt courting your aunt (1) She received his ad- "dresses with great satisfaction and content. I think, Madam, "under favour, you were not so kind to my Lord Vaughan."

In the year 1665, she became a mother, but her child lived only to be baptized, and she had no other children by Lord Vaughan. In the autumn of the same year, while the plague was raging in London, we find her again with Lord Carberry's family in Wales. A letter from her half-sister Lady Percy (2), after expressing her great desire to have Lady Vaughan with her at Petworth, and how much her company was desired by all the family, says, "I am glad for "nobody's sake but Lady Frances's (3), that you are there," (*at Ludlow,*) "for I am sure she is sensible of her happiness in "enjoying you."

In the year 1667, we find Lady Vaughan a widow, living with her beloved sister, Lady Elizabeth Noel, at Tichfield, in Hampshire, the

(1) Elizabeth, sister to the Lord Treasurer Southampton, married Mr., afterwards Sir Thomas Estcourt, Knt. a Master in Chancery.

(2) The only surviving child of Lord Southampton by his second marriage. She was the wife of Jocelin Percy, the last Earl of Northumberland, whose father, at the date of this letter, was still alive.

(3) Lady Frances Vaughan, eldest daughter of Lord Carberry.

seat of their father Lord Southampton, which Lady Elizabeth Noel, as the eldest of the two daughters by his first marriage, had recently inherited. His property at Stratton at the same time falling to the lot of Lady Vaughan.

Of the commencement of her acquaintance with Mr. Russell we are ignorant. That it existed more than two years before it terminated in their union, we know from a letter of Lady Percy's to Lady Vaughan, in the summer of 1667, where she mentions Mr. Russell in a manner to leave no doubt of his having manifested his sentiments for her sister. "For his (Mr. Russell's) concern, I can say nothing more than that "he professes a great desire, which I do not at all doubt, he, and "every body else has, to gain one who is so desirable in all "respects."

Mr. Russell was then only a younger brother, and Lady Vaughan a very considerable heiress, without children by her first marriage. The advantages of such a connection must have been considered, in the eye of the world, as entirely on his side, and the diffidence inspired by this idea, as well as the feelings of doubt which always accompany strong attachment, seem to have made him very backward in interpreting Lady Vaughan's sentiments in his favour.

As the inequality between them existed only in matters of interest, their mutual feelings could not long be mistaken by each other. Lady Vaughan was entirely her own mistress, and they were married about the end of the year 1669, she retaining the name of Vaughan, till Mr. Russell, having by the death of his elder brother Francis Lord Russell (1) succeeded to his title, she assumed that of Lady Russell.

The first letters in the following series are addressed by Lady Vaughan to her husband, Mr. Russell, in the spring of the year 1672. They are continued, at distant intervals, to within a twelvemonth of his death. They are few, for during the fourteen happy years of their union, they were little apart. Their only moments of separation seem

(1) In 1678.

to have been some visits of duty to his father, when living entirely at Woburn, or during his elections for two successive parliaments; some short absences in London, on private or political business, and his attendance at Oxford during the only session of the parliament so suddenly dismissed by Charles.

These letters are written with such a neglect of style, and often of grammar, as may disgust the admirers of well-turned periods, and they contain such frequent repetitions of homely tenderness, as may shock the sentimental readers of the present day. But they evince the enjoyment of a happiness, built on such rational foundations, and so truly appreciated by its possessors, as too seldom occurs in the history of the human heart. They are impressed too with the marks of a cheerful mind, a social spirit, and every indication of a character prepared, as well to enjoy the sunshine, as to meet the storms of life.

Thus gifted, and thus situated, her tender and prophetic exhortations both to her Lord and herself, to merit the continuance of such happiness, and to secure its perfect enjoyment by being prepared for its loss, are not less striking than his entire and absolute confidence in her character, and attachment to her society. It was thus, surely, that intellectual beings of different sexes were intended by their great Creator to go through the world together; — thus united, not only in hand and heart, but in principles, in intellect, in views, and in dispositions; — each pursuing one common and noble end, their own improvement, and the happiness of those around them, by the different means appropriate to their sex and situation; — mutually correcting, sustaining, and strengthening each other; undegraded by all practices of tyranny on the one part, and of deceit on the other; — each finding a candid but severe judge in the understanding, and a warm and partial advocate in the heart of their companion; — secure of a refuge from the vexations, the follies, the misunderstandings and the evils of the world, in the arms of each other, and in the inestimable enjoyments of unlimited confidence, and unrestrained intimacy.

In the death of her beloved sister, Lady Elizabeth Noel, in 1679,

Lady Russell experienced a severe affliction. Although happy, and consciously happy in an husband and children, who called forth every feeling that either could inspire to the warmest heart, *hers* was not one in which such feelings were exclusive.

There seems, indeed, to be as great a variety in the powers of human hearts, as of human intellects. Some are found hardly equal to the modified selfishness which produces attachment to their most immediate connections; some have naturally strong feelings concentrated on a few objects, but which diffuse no warmth out of their own narrow focus; while others appear endowed with an almost boundless capacity for every virtuous affection, which contracts undiminished to all the minute duties of social life, and expands unexhausted to all the great interests of humanity.

Such was the heart of Lady Russell, in which her friends, her country, her religion, all found a place. (1) She recurs to the character of her sister, under the name of a "*delicious Friend*," and uniting a fond remembrance of her feelings for her, in all those of her happiness with an adored husband, gratefully exclaims, "sure, nobody has ever enjoyed more pleasure in the con-"versations and tender kindness of a husband and a sister, than "myself." (2)

Repeated acknowledgments and returns of this "tender kindness" form the striking feature of all the letters addressed to her husband; but they bear marks at the same time of a lively interest in his pursuits, and of a mind open to all great public objects. Her account of the debate in the House of Commons, on the King's message in April, 1677, is remarkably clear and well given, and we meet with several passages which intimate her acquaintance with

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(1) In a letter to Dr. Fitzwilliam, in the eventful year 1688, when her first and great interest in all public affairs no longer existed, she says, "my thoughts are too much crowded "to get a passage to express what I feel. My religion and my country are dear to me, "and my own hard fate will ever be a green wound."

(2) See letter to Dr. Fitzwilliam, of July 17th, 1685. p. 62. of Published Letters.

political affairs, as well as her anxiety about Lord Russell's participation in them. Whether the note she sent to him in the House of Commons succeeded in persuading him to the postponement of some intended measure, which it so strongly urged, we cannot now ascertain; but his having preserved and indorsed this note as being received while the House of Commons was sitting, shows the impression which, from its relation to the subject of debate, it must have made on him.

The birth of her eldest daughter, in 1674, was followed by that of another daughter, in 1676, and her domestic happiness seemed to be completed by the birth of a son, in November 1680.

The frequent mention made of these children in the following letters — of their health, their progress, and their amusements, prove how much every thing that concerned them occupied as well as interested their parents. Such details would be tedious, were it not consoling to trace the minute features of tenderness in characters, capable at the same time of the sternest exertions of human fortitude.

Although Lady Russell felt all the soul-sufficing enjoyments of perfect affection in the society of her husband, she allowed no exclusive sentiment to withdraw either him or herself from the world, in which they were born to live, nor from the society which made that of each other more dear to them. Their summers at Stratton, to which she always adverts with pleasure, were diversified by their winters spent at Southampton House (1), from whence, if business, or country sports, called her companion, she sought society, and collected for him in her letters, all the little anecdotes, public or private, that could serve to amuse his absence; proving how compatible she deemed cheerfulness to be with devotion, and the reasonable enjoyment of trifles in this world, with an attentive regard to the great interests of the next.

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(1) It was situated on the north side of Bloomsbury Square. On Lady Russell's death, in 1723, Southampton House descended to her grandson, Wriothesly Duke of Bedford, and received the name of Bedford House. It was pulled down by Francis Duke of Bedford, in 1800.

From devotion, and devoted resignation to the will of Heaven, who ever required or obtained more than Lady Russell? Whose implicit faith in the inscrutable ways of the Almighty, was ever exposed to severer trials? And where, and when, were the consoling doctrines of Christianity ever applied to more poignant distress, or productive of more admirable effects, than on her life, her conduct, and her character? Yet her devotion separated her in no degree either from the affections, the interests, or the amusements of the world. She appeared at a court, in the profligacy of which she did not participate; and amused herself in a society, whose frivolity she avoided.

The tenor of her faith degraded not the social affections of the heart, by placing them in contradistinction to the duties she owed to a superior Being. She drew not up in terrible array the Divine will against her enjoyments, but endeavoured gratefully to partake of all the innocent pleasures offered both to our animal and intellectual existence by its benevolent Creator. She lowered not the spirituality of her nature, by clogging it with the language of worldly passion, nor the performance of minute observances. But, with a mind, at once exalted and purified by her faith, she looked up from the depths of human suffering, with trembling hope, to the immense mercies, and with unshaken confidence to the consoling promises of an Almighty Being,

"Who must delight in virtue;
"And that, which he delights in, must be happy."

Such was Lady Russell's intimate acquaintance with the sentiments and character of her husband, and such her confidence in the purity of his intentions and conduct, that when she found herself in the dreadful predicament of separation, by means which even the anxiety of affection could never have deemed possible, the "amazement" on which she dwells so often, and with such peculiar anguish in her subsequent letters, doubled a blow for which nothing could have ever prepared her.

But her mind, instead of being overwhelmed, rises equal to a

situation in which she could never have conceived herself liable to be placed. Her quiet domestic spirit immediately assumes an activity, which probably afterwards as much surprised herself, as it called forth the admiration of those who witnessed it.

We have no record from herself of these cruel moments. She was otherwise employed than in giving an account of her feelings; they must have been such as were hardly defined to herself. And when we recollect her previous habits of life, and those of most of her sex and country at that time, we shall appreciate her character and conduct in a very different manner from that of a lively Frenchwoman of the same period, already in the habits of political intrigue, who might, in Lady Russell's circumstances, have found almost as much to gratify her vanity, as to alarm her feelings.

From the manner in which Lord Russell was taken up, there is little doubt that the court, with the dastardly policy which their crooked measures made necessary, would willingly have connived at his escape. It would have saved them from the odium of his death, and would have allowed them, by vilifying his character, more easily to get rid of others, whose greater activity as well as fewer scruples, made them, in fact, much more dangerous enemies.

Burnet tells us, that the day before Lord Russell was arrested, a messenger was observed waiting for many hours at, or near, his door — "A measure that was taken in so open and careless a manner, "(the back door of his house not being watched) as led to the "suspicion that it was intended to frighten him away." This insidious measure was not unobserved by those whom it was meant to entrap. Lady Russell was sent to consult with their friends, whether or not Lord Russell should withdraw himself.

With what an anxious mind such consultations must have been made, we may easily conceive, but no unworthy weakness, no exaggerated fears for his safety, suggested a wish on her part, contrary to the conduct which his friends, as well as himself, thought consonant with his innocence and his honour.

From this moment, till after her husband's death, we know little of Lady Russell, but what is recorded in the history of her country, where her name will be embalmed with her lord's, while passive courage, devoted tenderness, and unblemished purity, are honoured in the one sex, or public patriotism, private virtues, and unshaken principles, revered in the other.

Lord Russell was so well aware of the virulence of his enemies, and of the character of his real offences towards them, that his innocence of those alleged, was ineffectual in producing in his mind any hope of escape, when once within their power. From the first instant of his arrest, he gave himself up as lost. Such feelings (however little expressed) could not have been concealed from the anxious mind of the being who shared his every thought. But as in him they produced no despondency, so in her they caused no relaxation from every honourable endeavour to rescue him from such mortal danger. During the fortnight that elapsed between his commitment to the Tower, and his trial (1), she was continually employed in procuring information as to what was likely to be urged against him, and in adopting every measure of precaution. Such was her known intelligence on this occasion, that we find in the report of the trial, the Chief Justice and Attorney-General (2) seem to think themselves vindicated from every suspicion of neglect, in not previously communicating the pannel of the jury to Lord Russell, by endeavouring to prove that a list of names had been given to his wife. (3) Her appearance in court, at his trial, has been said to have caused a thrill of anguish through the numerous audience. (4) The Attorney-General, to

(1) Lord Russell was committed to the Tower on the 26th June; tried on the 13th July; and executed in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields on the 21st July, 1683.

(2) Sir Francis Pemberton was Chief-Justice, and Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney-General.

(3) See Howell's State Trials, vol. ix. p. 583.

(4) The crowd was so great, that the Counsel complained of not having room to stand. See Howell's State Trials, vol. ix. p. 594.

avoid allowing Lord Russell the aid of a legal adviser, anticipated the answer of the Chief-Justice to his request to have a person to take notes for him, by saying he would be allowed to employ a servant, to which the Chief-Justice immediately added: — "Any of your "servants shall assist you in writing any thing you please."

When Lady Russell rose from her husband's side, on his replying, "My wife is here to do it," the interesting situation in which she stood, must have recalled with peculiar force to the minds of the spectators, all her father's services, her husband's unsuspected patriotism, the excellence of his private life, and their known domestic happiness. It would seem, indeed, to have made some impression even on the minds of his prosecutors, as a milder tone is immediately assumed by the Chief-Justice acquiescing in the employment of Lady Russell, "if my Lady will give herself that trouble;" and the Attorney-General follows, by offering him "two persons to write for" him, if he please.

Whatever effort such services might require on the part of Lady Russell, let it not be supposed that these were the greatest exertions of her reason, nor the greatest triumph of her admirable character over the severest calamities, to which a nature like hers could be exposed. She was *here* supported by hope, however feeble, by active and urgent occupation, by the presence of the object of her cares. It must be regretted, that we know not how she supported herself through that fatal day, nor how she received the unlooked-for intelligence of the death of Lord Essex, her relation and friend, whose suicide in the Tower was supposed materially to have influenced the issue of the trial in the midst of which it was announced. (1) We only know that she had sufficient power over her feelings, neither to disturb the court, nor distract the attention of her husband.

From the moment of his condemnation, she was unceasingly

(1) In a letter to Dr. Fitzwilliam, of the 11th July, 1686, she says, — "If the Duchess "of Portsmouth told me true, that they said the jury could not have condemned my Lord, "if my Lord Essex had not died as he did." See Published Letters, p. 100.

occupied in various attempts to obtain a mitigation of the sentence. All were unavailing against the fears, and the malice of the unforgiving James. The King, in spite of the general facility of his temper, resisted the daughter of his oldest and most faithful servant, kneeling before him for the life of her husband; and the Duchess of Portsmouth, in spite of her venality, resisted an offer of a hundred thousand pounds to procure his pardon. (1) The same cause stifled even an attempt at delivering the letter which Ruvigny is said to have obtained from Lewis in favour of his relation. Every means had been previously attempted, every resource tried, except that of a desertion of those principles, which formed his sole crime in the eyes of his relentless enemy. (2)

While indefatigably pursuing the slightest hope of mercy, while offering to accompany him into perpetual exile, never did his heroic wife, for a moment, propose to him the purchase of his life by any base compliance, or by the abjuration of the noble truths for which he was persecuted. When pressed by Tillotson and Burnet to leave such an abjuration behind him, she shared in his steady adherence to his principles, as she shared in his sufferings for them. (3)

On a subsequent occasion (of much honour to Tillotson) she had the unsought and quiet triumph of recommending to him the practice of

(1) This offer is mentioned in the notes to Lord Russell's trial, vol. ix. p. 684., of Howell's State Trials, as having been said to be made by the Earl of Bedford to the Duchess of Portsmouth, without giving the authority on which it rests.

(2) All particulars of Lord Russell's trial and behaviour are here purposely avoided, as they have been so lately detailed to the public, with every additional interest that can be given to such a narrative, by an author, who is heir to all the patriotism as well as all the talents of his ancestor.

(3) "Tillotson was so apprehensive of Lady Russell's displeasure at his pressing his "Lordship, although with the best intentions, upon that subject, that when he was first "admitted to her after her Lord's death, he is said to have addressed her in this manner, "that he thanked God, and then her Ladyship, for that opportunity of justyfying himself; "and they soon returned to the terms of a cordial and unreserved friendship." Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 124.

that submission which he had "so powerfully tried himself, and instructed others to." (1)

Lord Russell's gratitude for the exalted tenderness of his wife's conduct, his sense of her magnanimity, and his opinion of her character, prove him to have been worthy of a blessing he appreciated so justly. His whole mention of her, in his last interviews with Burnet, is perhaps the noblest eulogy ever pronounced on the difficult virtues of a woman. It can be given in no words so impressive as those of the person to whom it was addressed.

Burnet, it is known, not only saw Lord Russell every day in prison, but accompanied him to the scaffold, and wrote a detailed account of every thing that passed between them, and of all that occurred during the last hours of his life. He tells us, that, three days before his execution, on Lady Russell's retiring, "he (Lord Russell) expressed "great joy in that magnanimity of spirit he saw in her, and said the "parting with her was the hardest thing he had to do; for he was "afraid she would be hardly able to bear it: the concern about "preserving him filled her mind so now, that it, in some measure, "supported her; but when that would be over, he feared the quick-"ness of her spirits would work all within her."

The morning before he suffered, he tells Burnet, "he wished his "wife would give over beating every bush, and running so about for "his preservation; but, when he considered that it would be some "mitigation of her sorrow, afterwards, that she had left nothing "undone, that could have given any probable hope, he acquiesced, "and indeed I never saw his heart so near failing, as when he spake "of her. Sometimes I saw a tear in his eye, and he would turn "about and presently change the discourse."

"At eleven o'clock (on Friday evening) my Lady left him; he kissed

(1) See Published Letters, p. 259. Tillotson consults her, if he must absolutely accept of the Archbisliopric of Canterbury, repeatedly offered him by King William.

"her four or five times, and she kept her sorrow so within herself,
"that she gave him no disturbance at their parting. After she was
"gone, he said, now the bitterness of death was passed, and ran out
"into a long discourse concerning her, how great a blessing she had
"been to him, and said, what a misery it would have been, if she had
"not had that magnanimity of spirit joined to her tenderness, as
"never to have desired him to do a base thing for the saving of his
"life. Whereas otherwise what a week I should have passed, if she
"had been still crying on me to turn informer, and be a Lord Howard;
"though he then repeated what he had often before said, that he
"knew of nothing by which the peace of the nation was in danger."

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"But he left that discourse, and returned to speak of my Lady.
"He said there was a signal providence of God in giving him such a
"wife, where there was birth, fortune, great understanding, great
"religion, and a great kindness to him. But her carriage in this
"extremity went beyond all. He said he was glad that she and her
"children were to lose nothing by his death; and it was a great
"comfort to him, that he left his children in such a mother's hands,
"and that she had promised to him to take care of herself for their
"sakes, which I heard her do." (1)

After having made a last ineffectual attempt to obtain a respite from Saturday to Monday; on Friday, the morning previous to his execution, Lady Russell conducted her children to the presence of their dying father. Burnet, the only witness on this occasion, says, "I saw him receive them with his ordinary serenity." He retired before their father had bestowed on them his last benediction and embrace.

Lady Russell returned alone in the evening. She found her

(1) Extracted from Burnet's MS: "Relation of what passed during Lord Russell's confinement." Transcribed in the hand-writing of Lady Russell. Dev. MSS.

husband in a composure of mind, which had already excited the admiration of those who had witnessed it, and which had now endured seeing for the last time every thing that made life most desirable to him. But she too well knew that his severest trial yet remained; and by a noble sacrifice of self-indulgence, — a suppression of every selfish feeling, which nothing but the purest tenderness could dictate to the most exalted mind, she parted from his last embrace, without allowing a single sob of passion to awaken corresponding feelings in him, which must have banished his heavenly composure.

She retired in silent anguish to that melancholy home, to which she was never again to welcome him; — she retired to count the wretched minutes of those hours which were to elapse before the fatal stroke was given, which left no restraint on her unbounded grief.

In this dreadful predicament, we look anxiously round for some sympathetic mind, capable of rallying her fainting spirit, and of soothing her sorrows, by entering into their poignancy. Public pity, and public praise, could as yet be but "the whistling of a name," which must rather have excited, than quieted her feelings. Her children were almost infants; her beloved and favorite sister was no more; Lady Northumberland was not in England; and although they had always lived on terms of sisterly affection and amity, hers was a mind too inferior to that of Lady Russell, to have afforded her much support.

Lady Shaftesbury, her cousin, was merely a good and pious soul, sensible of her inability to offer more than her pity and her prayers. She was left then in these cruel moments to the powers of her own mind, — to her solemn engagement to live for her children, — to her strong, pure, unsophisticated piety, and to the magnanimous sense she entertained of the cause in which she was suffering, which dictated many years afterwards an avowal, that "there was something so "glorious in the object of my greatest sorrow, I believe *that* in some "degree kept me from being then overwhelmed." (1)

(1) Lady Russell to the Bishop of Salisbury (Burnet) 16th Oct. 1690. See Published Letters, p. 274.

She was roused, during the first days of her despondency, by an attempt to attack the memory of her Lord in denying the authenticity of the paper he had delivered to the sheriffs on the scaffold. This paper, already printed, was immediately in the hands of the public, and produced that effect on the sober understandings of Englishmen, which might have been anticipated from it. Such an effect was anticipated by the court. Burnet and Tillotson were, the day after Lord Russell's execution, summoned before the King, and the Duke of York, in council, and taxed with being the advisers and authors of that paper. The innocence of Tillotson was proved, by his last attempt to enforce very contrary doctrines on Lord Russell in a letter to him, which it is but justice to Tillotson's subsequent conduct to believe he heartily regretted. The heavier suspicion fell on Burnet.

Lady Russell's letter to the King on this occasion (1), is that of a person roused by a sense of duty and of innocence to repel injuries, of which they are almost reckless of the consequences. She neglected not, however, to do justice to Burnet's conduct and sentiments, which was the means of allowing him time and opportunity to withdraw himself from the power of a government, to which he had then the honour of being obnoxious.

It is said that the Duke of York had proposed that the execution of Lord Russell should have taken place in Bloomsbury Square, before the windows of his own house. Christian charity forbids our believing this story merely on report, even of James the Second. (2) But it is certain that the effect produced on the public mind by the death of Lord Russell, had much exasperated the court; and as those who

(1) See Published Letters, p. 7.

(2) Lord Russell was executed in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. Burnet, who was in the carriage with him, mentions in the account already quoted of his conduct, during his last moments, that, "As we came to turn to Little Queen-street, he said, 'I have often turned to the *other* "hand with great comfort, but now I turn to this with greater,' and looked towards his "own house, and then, as the Dean (Tillotson) that sat over-against him told me, he saw "a tear or two fall from him."

injure are the last to forgive, they were angry at every attempt to honour his memory, and opposed the least mark of respect to his remains. Permission to put an escutcheon over his door had however been obtained by Lord Halifax. This, and an intimation from the King, that he did not mean to profit by the forfeiture of Lord Russell's personal estate, are thus acknowledged in a letter from Lady Russell to Lord Halifax.

" 'Tis so much my interest, my Lord, (relying as I do upon your " Lordship's judgment and favour to me,) to be careful in humbly " acknowledging those I do receive, that unless you will be strictly " just to me, you will imagine this is sent your Lordship from other " ends than upon my word it is, since I could never in expectance of " a future advantage by it, constrain myself to do uneasy things, (as " doing this is, to so discomposed a mind as mine;) but to be kindly " used, and not any way appear I have a sense of it, would, if it be " possible, add to that intolerable pressure my sad heart mourns " under. All other considerations would permit me to excuse myself " from, or at least to defer an exercise I am rendered so utterly unfit for; " especially unless I might complain in such sad words as my raging " griefs fill my amazed mind with, and indeed offers me no other " without putting a force upon myself, which being unfit to do at " this time, I ask your Lordship's pardon for what I have said, and " in real compassion as to one very miserable, you must give it to, " my Lord,

" Yours, &c. &c."

" I think fit to acquaint your Lordship that I have written to my " uncle Russell (1), to present my thanks to the King, but have

(1) The Honourable John Russell, then Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards. The Letter is in these words: " Apology, dear Uncle, is not necessary to you for any thing I do, nor is my discom- " posed mind fit to make any; but I want your assistance, so I ask it freely. You may

" intimated in another paper that he may, if he sees fit, read it to the " King, having written it with that design: if this be enough, I like it " better than doing more, but if your Lordship is of another mind, " tell but my Lord Vaughan so, and I shall know it before the letter " be given. If it be seasonable to move in the other, I presume your " Lordship will not forget me.

" I hear the serjeant has been troublesome to your Lordship; it " would be impertinent to trouble you with all that has passed, but I " think I have not been to blame, for he demanded it only upon the " account that I was to have the personal estate, and I promised him " satisfaction when I had the grant."

Lord Halifax's answer is as follows: —

" Madam,

" It is enough that my zeal to serve you is favourably received; " but it doth not deserve so much notice as your Ladyship is pleased " to take of it. I am ready to give myself a better title than yet I " have to such obliging acknowledgments, whenever you will give me

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" remember, Sir, that a very few days after my great and terrible calamity, the King sent " me word, he meant to take no advantage of any thing forfeited to him; but terms of " law must be observed, so now the grant for the personal estate is done, and in my hands, " I esteem it fit to make some compliment of acknowledgment to his Majesty. To do this " for me, is the favour I beg of you; but I have written the enclosed paper in such a manner, " that if you judge it fit, you may, as you see cause, show it to the King, to let him see " what thanks I desire should be made him; but this is left to you to do as you approve. " Truly, Uncle, 'tis not without reluctancy I write to you myself, since nothing that is not " very sad can come from me, and I do not love to trouble such as I am sure wish me " none. I ask after your health, and when I hear you are well, 'tis part of the only " satisfaction I can have in this wretched world, where the love and company of the friends " and dearest relations of that dear and blessed person must give me all I can find in it " now. 'Tis a great change, from as much happiness as I believe this world can give, to " know no more, as never must,

" Yours, &c." *

* Dev. MSS.

"the opportunity, by laying your commands on me. In the mean "time, I will not offer any thing to your Ladyship's thoughts, to "soften or allay the violence of your affliction, since your own excel- "lent temper, and the great measure of reason you are blessed with, "will best furnish you with the means of doing it. I have not seen "Colonel Russell, to speak with him, concerning the letter your "Ladyship mentioned; but, according to my present thoughts, if he "delivereth a compliment from you to His Majesty, by your order, it "may be less liable to inconvenience, or exception, than any thing that "is put on paper. I must tell your Ladyship, there has been such a "stir kept about setting up the scutcheon, and so much weight "laid upon it by some, who might have been more sparing for your "sake, though they would not be it for mine, that I am clearly of "opinion, it is adviseable to stay yet, for a considerable time, before "any thing is moved in the other business. There are some other "particulars which confirm me in this opinion, that I shall give you "an account of, when I have the honour to wait on you: for I would "by no means have your Ladyship exposed to the danger of a refusal; "which is best prevented by taking a seasonable time, and letting "the wrong impressions wear out that may have been given for the "present.

"In pursuance of the liberty I had from your Ladyship, I left it to "my Lord Keeper to set down what was to be given to the ser- "jeant(1); and he hath ordered 20l. which I have desired your "servant to pay, that you may receive no further trouble in it.

"I am, Madam,

"Your Ladyship's most humble,

"and most obedient Servant,

"HALIFAX." (2)

London, October 16th, 1683.

(1) Probably the Sergeant at Arms, who had the charge of Lord Russell in the Tower.
(2) Dev. MSS.

The earliest account we have of the state of Lady Russell's mind, at this juncture, is in a letter from herself to Doctor Fitzwilliam, of the 30th September, two months after the fatal catastrophe. It is written from Woburn, whither she had retired, with her children, from her desolate home in London, early in the month of August.

Doctor Fitzwilliam was a clergyman, whom she had known, from her infancy, as chaplain to her father, Lord Southampton, and who seems to have retained a devoted attachment to his children. (1) He had written to endeavour to assist her in lifting up her mind to Heaven, when all other consolation must have been useless. She replies, "I need not tell you, good Doctor, how little capable I have been of "such an exercise as this. You will soon find how unfit I am still "for it; since my yet disordered thoughts can offer me no other than "such words as express the deepest sorrow, and confused as my "yet *amazed* mind is. But such men as you, and particularly one "so much my friend, will, I know, bear with my weakness, and com-"passionate my distress, as you have already done, by your good "letter, and excellent prayer. * * * * * "You, that knew us both, and how we lived, must allow "I have just cause to bewail my loss. I know it is common to "others to lose a friend; but to have lived with such a one, it may "be questioned how few can glory in the like happiness, so, conse-"quently, lament the like loss. Who can but shrink from such a "blow! * * * * * "* * Lord, let me understand the reason of these dark and "wounding providences, that I sink not under the discouragement "of my own thoughts! I know I have deserved my punishment, "and will be silent under it; but yet secretly my heart mourns, too

(1) Doctor Fitzwilliam, after the death of Lord Southampton, had been for some time Chaplain to the Duke of York. He was now Rector of Cotenham, in Cambridgeshire, and a Canon of Windsor, both which preferments he lost at the Revolution, on refusal of the oaths to William and Mary.

" sadly, I fear, and cannot be comforted, because I have not the " dear companion and sharer of all my joys and sorrows. I want " him to talk with, to walk with, to eat, and sleep with. All these " things are irksome to me. The day unwelcome, and the night so " too; all company and meals I would avoid, if it might be: yet all " this is, that I enjoy not the world in my own way; and this sure " hinders my comfort. When I see my children before me, " I remember the pleasure he took in them: this makes my heart " shrink. Can I regret his quitting a lesser good for a greater? Oh! " if I did but stedfastly believe, I could not be dejected; for I will " not injure myself to say, I offer my mind any inferior consolation " to supply this loss. No; I most willingly forsake this world, this " vexatious, troublesome world, in which I have no other business, " but to rid my soul of sin, secure by faith and a good conscience " my eternal interests, with patience and courage bear my eminent " misfortune, and ever hereafter be above the smiles and frowns of " fortune."

This affecting picture of the struggles of a virtuous mind, under one of the severest trials imposed on our imperfect nature, is rendered doubly interesting by the noble exertions made by Lady Russell, even at this time, to neglect no immediate duty, either to the memory of her lord, or to her children, or to those of her beloved sister.

In letters of this date, addressed to her by Mr. Hoskins, we find her availing herself of his advice and assistance, in the necessary arrangement of her affairs, and of the trust for her sister Lady Elizabeth Noel's children, which, by Lord Russell's condemnation for treason, had devolved on the King.

Mr. Hoskins, whose acquaintance Lady Russell mentions having first made at Lord Shaftesbury's (1), seems, by his letters, to have

(1) In a letter of June 1684, speaking of going to her house at Stratton, she says, " I depend on the conveniency of a gentleman who has most kindly and helpfully assisted

been a person of such excellent good sense, as well as good feeling, that he deserved all the confidence Lady Russell placed in his advice, and all the gratitude she expresses for his services, in matters to which her own mind must have been then peculiarly indisposed. Of the state of that mind his letters are a melancholy record. In the beginning of August of this year, he writes to her on having been obliged, by the sudden illness of a relation, to leave London. * * * "I was very sorry to leave Your Ladyship, when you thought my "stay could be any way useful to you, and when I saw your grief "rather increase than abate. I can use no arguments to you, to "mitigate your sorrows, that your Ladyship is not well acquainted "with already. All I can do is, to beg you to employ them, and "give them all advantages in working their proper effects on you." * * * * * * * * "Great persons are liable to great trials, and have better oppor- "tunities than common people to fit their minds to encounter them. "Now, Madam, summon up all your strength, and acquit yourself as "becomes you in this utmost assault; and I pray God assist you, for "I must confess your loss is very great, of a very good man, for "whom of all men I have known, one would have been the most "willing to have died."

In December of the same year, after giving her details about the measures necessary to be taken for the re-settlement of her sister's trust, he says, — "I cannot but very much approve the great care "you have of my Lady Elizabeth Noel's children, answerable to "your near relation and great friendship." As Mr. Hoskins had been bred to the law, and had practised at the Chancery bar, his advice on this subject, and on many other points of business, was particularly useful to Lady Russell, whose landed possessions required such legal intelligence. Mr. Hoskins' anxiety at this time to save

"me, by following my business for me, and whom I have engaged, as finding it almost "necessary to my affairs, one Mr. Hoskins; I grew first acquainted with him at Lord "Shaftesbury's, who used to call him cousin." Published Letters, p. 40.

her all unnecessary trouble, and yet to lead her by degrees to inform herself, and take some interest in her affairs as a duty, as well as a means of drawing off her mind from the perpetual contemplation of her sorrows, proves the just estimate they had both formed of each other's character.

In the beginning of the following year, Lady Russell had intimated to him, her intention of parting with a house-steward, who had been long in her service, but of whose conduct, in some matters relative to her Lord, she seems to have had doubts. Mr. Hoskins' advice to her on this subject, is so rational, that it is best given in his own words:—

"I shall not discourse to any, the resolution your Ladyship is taking "concerning Mr. Watkins, but I heard before that he was apprehen- "sive of it; I understood formerly from your Ladyship that it would "be an uneasy thing to you, to part with any of your servants, but "intending frugality, it will be necessary to lessen your family, "especially your officers, and those that are most chargeable."

* * * * * * * *

"I don't know all your Laydship's servants, nor the qualifications of "any of them; but if Mr. Watkins' business be only the expense of "your household, surely it is not so difficult, and frequent reckonings "will make it easier and secure your Ladyship. It requires a man "of much honesty, rather than parts. My meaning hereby is, not "to advise your Ladyship to live beneath your quality, but me thinks "it is beneath nobody to keep no more than they have business for. "—'Tis the way to save trouble as well as charge, and to have "business better done. I am of your Ladyship's opinion, that he "never dared say *that* to his Lord you have been told, how vainly so- "ever he might pretend it. I have heard indeed, that he kept such "company as no man in common discretion in his place would have "done, whatever his inclinations were; but I know not how truly I "was informed. Your Ladyship need not mention all the reasons "that move you to part with him, especially those that will bring on "you the trouble of fending and proving, and make an angry parting; "but since your Laydship does so charitably fore-cast for him the

" opportunity of getting into Lord Gainsborough's service, you can, " for that end, but for a little while delay giving him warning."

In the close of the same letter, he says, " I am much pleased to " hear your Ladyship so resolved to follow your business. Your " Ladyship will require less help than most others, and are so much " valued, that there is nobody of worth but will be glad to serve you. " Nothing but your sorrows can hinder you doing all that is to be " done; and give me leave, Madam, as often as it comes in my way, " to mind your Ladyship, that the hopes your dear Lord had, that " you would bear his loss with magnanimity, and nothing would be " wanting to his children, loosened all the hold this world had of " him."

" I am, with sincerity,

" Your Ladyship's, &c. &c."

Having been some time at Woburn with her, in March 1684, he says, (after treating of business,) " I wish I could find your Ladyship " had a little more overcome your mighty grief; to see how it had " wasted your body, how heavy it lay upon your mind, and how " hardly you struggled with it, made me melancholy all the time I " was at Woborn." * * * * * *

" At all times and places, I shall sadly reflect on your Ladyship, and " pray that God would comfort you, and lift up your drooping " spirit."

In the April following, after some details and arrangements about a new legal manager of her affairs, as steward of her Bloomsbury property, whom Mr. Hoskins had sought out for her, he continues: " I do indeed wish well to your Ladyship's affairs, but what most " concerns me is, to see you so overwhelmed with grief. I should " not doubt their good success were you not so much oppressed with " that: it pities me to see how hard you struggle with it, and how " doubtful it is which will overcome. Continue, good Madam, to " do your utmost, the more you strive the more God will help. " All the little services that I have done, or can do, your Ladyship,

"are not worth half the notice you take of them. I am troubled "when I consider how little I could do; for you in that great occasion, "and any confidence you have in me, or opportunity you give me of "serving you, lays the obligation on my side. There cannot be a "greater pleasure in the world than to serve a person I so much "value, both on your own account, and upon his of whom you were "so deplorably bereft." (1)

These and other letters, inform us that from the time she left London in August 1683, she remained at Woborn till the following Spring, struggling in the midst of a sorrowing family, with her own deeper and more peculiar affliction. Her children, at the time of their father's death, were hardly of an age to feel their loss, still less to appreciate the blessing remaining to them in their mother. Her son was an infant not three years old, and her daughters, at the age of nine, and of seven, rather made her "heart shrink," (as she herself owns,) from the recollection of the pleasure their father took in their society, than that it could afford much relief to herself. But in her children her duties to her husband were now concentrated, and from her children she looked for the only motives which could at present reconcile her to live, or in future interest her in life.

During this winter we find she had determined to occupy herself much with their early education. In a letter addressed to her from Burnet, in February 1684, he says, "I am very glad you mean to "employ so much of your time in the education of your children "that they shall need no other governess; for, as it is the greatest "part of your duty, so it will be a noble entertainment to you, and "the best diversion and cure of your wounded and wasted spirit."

This counsel she seems to have pursued; for there is no indication of her daughters having ever been separated from her, or ever having

(1) Mr. Hoskins died several years before Lady Russell. He left one only child, a daughter and heiress, who married, in 1718, William Marquis of Hartington, Lady Russell's grandson.

had any other instructress. To Dr. Fitzwilliam she particularly indulges herself at this time, in dwelling on the oppressed state of her mind; because, without reproving her grief, he was always guarding her against the offence to Heaven of over-indulgence in it. She tells him: "If, in the multitude of those sorrows that possess "my soul, I find any refreshments, though, alas! such are but "momentary, it is by casting off some of my crowded thoughts to "compassionate friends, such as deny not to weep with those that "weep." And she afterwards says: "The liberty I take when I "write to you, gratifies much more my weary mind than the matter "one fills up paper with to others." At the same time she invites, and encourages him to continue the same habit of exhortation and reproof to her. "I am glad I have so expressed myself to you, as "to fix you in resolving to continue the course you have begun with "me, which is, to set before me plainly, my duty on all hands." And adds: "I will say for myself, I am very confident I shall ever "so take either reproof, caution, or advice of a friend, in such a "manner as I shall never lose a friend for acting the part of one "to me."

She thus valiantly combats her ever-recurring sorrow by every rational means in her power, and appears indeed to have had a jealousy that it should be relieved by any of the ordinary applications to ordinary ills, or that she should owe the cure of such distinguished affliction, to any lesser means than those of reason and religion.

"It is possible I grasp at too much of this kind for a spirit so "broke by affliction; for I am so jealous that time, or necessity, the "ordinary abaters of all violent passions, (nay, even employment or "company of such friends as I have left,) should do that, my religion "or reason ought to do, as makes me covet the best advices, and use "all methods to obtain such a relief as I can ever hope for: a "silent submission to this severe and terrible providence, without "any ineffective unwillingness to bear what I must suffer; and such "a victory over myself, that when once allayed, immoderate passions "may not be apt to break out again upon fresh occasions and acci-

" dents, offering to my memory that dear object of my desires which " must happen every day, I may say every hour, of the longest life " I can live, that so, when I must return into the world, so far as to " act that part is incumbent upon me in faithfulness to him I owe as " much as can be due to man, it may be with greater strength of " spirits, and grace to live a stricter life of holiness to my God."

In spite of her excellent resolutions, her duties, and her occupations, her wound was of a nature to mock all consolations but those applied by the lenient hand of time, assisted by the quieting assurances of her own conscience. Even these we find in this first period of her sufferings, were sometimes unavailing in defending her from dreadful and disturbing doubts as to the past. She says to Dr. Fitzwilliam, in April 1684: "——Then I find reflections troubling " me as omissions of one sort or other, that if either greater persua- " sions had been used, he had gone away; or some errors at the trial " amended, or other applications made, he might have been acquitted, " and so yet have been in the land of the living; (though I discharge " not these things as faults upon myself, yet as aggravations to my " sorrows;) so that not being certain of our time being appointed, " beyond which we cannot pass, my heart shrinks to think his time " possibly was shortened by unwise management. I believe I do ill " to torment myself with such unprofitable thoughts." (1)

" Such unprofitable thoughts," however, she never allowed to distract her mind from the performance of any obvious or immediate duty.

In the spring of 1684, she had proposed going to Stratton, for the

(1) The author considers it unnecessary to apologize for these frequent citations from the Published Letters, as no account of the feelings of another's mind can be so interesting as that given by themselves. And most readers, it is believed, will agree with what Burnet, in his own uncouth style, says of that of Lady Russell. " You have so " strange a way of expressing yourself, that I sincerely acknowledge my pen is apt to drop " from my hand when I begin writing to you, for I am very sensible I cannot rise up to " your strain." Published Letters, p. 17.

purpose of examining some papers, and finally settling the trust already mentioned for her sister Lady Elizabeth Noel's children.

Her feelings on the prospect of revisiting this scene of her lost happiness are best expressed by herself. "I am entertaining some "thoughts of going to that now desolate place, Stratton, for a few "days, where I must expect new amazing reflections at first, it being "a place where I have lived in sweet and full content, considered "the condition of others, and thought none deserved my envy. "But I must pass no more such days on earth; however, places are "indeed nothing. Where can I dwell, that his figure is not present "to me? Nor would I have it otherwise; so I resolve *that* shall be "no bar, if it proves requisite for the better acquitting any obligation "on me."

This "obligation" was delayed for the present, by the sickness and death of the Countess of Bedford (1), which took place on the 10th of May, at Woburn, and by the subsequent illness of her own infant son. The dreadful anxiety she suffered on this last occasion was of use to her mind, by proving to her that she had yet something to lose. With her usual reason, as well as piety, she thanks Heaven for having "removed a threatened blow, which must have quickened my sorrows, "if not added to them, the loss of my poor boy. He has been ill, and "God has let me see the folly of my imaginations, which made me "apt to conclude I had nothing left, the deprivation of which could "be matter of much anguish, or its possession of any considerable "refreshment. I have felt the falseness of the first notion, for I "know not how to part with tolerable ease from the little creature; "I desire to do so of the second, and that my thankfulness for the "real blessing of these children may refresh my labouring, weary "mind with some joy and satisfaction, at least in my endeavours to

(1) Anne Carr, daughter of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, by Frances, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, the divorced wife of the Earl of Essex.

" do that part towards them, their most dear and tender father would " not have omitted."

In this same letter to Dr. Fitzwilliam, we learn, that she had indulged herself at this time in visiting the vault which contained the remains of her Lord. (1) The manner in which she mentions this circumstance, and apologizes for it, makes it as impossible for us to blame her, as it was for her pious correspondent. She tells him—. " I had considered, I went not to seek the living among the dead. I " knew I should not see him any more, wherever I went, and had " made a covenant with myself, not to break out in unreasonable " fruitless passion, but quicken my contemplation, whither the nobler " part was fled, to a country afar off, where no earthly power bears " any sway, nor can put an end to a happy society." (2)

Instead of her intended journey to Stratton, which she meant to have made alone, she removed from Woburn in the end of June, to Totteridge in Hertfordshire, for change of air for her boy, and for the nearer neighbourhood of a London physician. She carries with her her eldest girl, leaving the younger at Woburn with her grandfather. A letter of his to Lady Russell at this period, from its lively and pious expression of anxiety and affection both for the child and herself, must have been gratifying to her warmly affectionate heart.

" Woburn, this 7th July, 1684."

" Dearest Daughter,

" There is nothing in this world can come so welcome to me, as to " hear of increase of hopes, that God Almighty will be so infinitely " good and gracious unto me, as to give unto my fervent prayers that " dear child, which if it be his good and pleasure to grant to so " unworthy a creature as I am, I shall look upon it all the days of my " life as the greatest temporal blessing can be bestowed upon me, and " that will supply and make up in a great measure the other great

(1) At Chenies in Buckinghamshire.

(2) Published Letters, p. 39.

"afflictions and crosses he has been pleased to lay upon me. Dear "daughter, I look upon it as a good sign the holding up of his head, "that the humour is gone, which I believe was the cause of the "hanging down of his head. I pray Christ Jesus to give such a "blessing unto the means, that I may have every day more and more "hopes of seeing that day of rejoicing, in enjoying your company and "his here again, which is the constant and fervent prayer of my soul "unto my gracious God."

* * * * * * * * *

"So, hoping to hear of some comfortable tidings by the bearer of "that dear little one, being full of prayers and fears for him and you, "I rest with all the kindness in the world, which I am sure I shall do "to my last breath,

"Your most affectionate
"Father and Friend
"to command,"
"BEDFORD."

"My dear love and blessing to my dear boy and Mrs. Rachael. "I am much cheered with Mrs. Karterine's company: she is often "with me, and looks very well." (1)

Their prayers were granted, and during the course of the summer the boy was restored to health. A project of going from Totteridge to Stratton, in September, is again put off by the proposed removal of the court to Winchester, where Charles occasionally resided in autumn, for the convenience of field sports. The near neighbourhood of Stratton would probably at this time have made the presence of its melancholy inhabitant as offensive to the court, as an intercourse with the court could have been to Lady Russell herself. She therefore returned from Totteridge to Woburn, in September, and soon after announces to Dr. Fitzwilliam her resolve "to try that desolate

(1) Devonshire MSS.

"habitation of mine in London this winter. The doctors agree it "is the best place for my boy, and I have no argument to balance "that, nor could take the resolution to see London till that was "urged; but by God's permission I will try how I can endure "that place; in thought, a place of terror to me: but I know, if "sorrow had not another root, *that* will vanish in a few days." Of her feelings on the nearer approach of her intended return to London, she must be again her own interpreter. She writes to Dr. Fitzwilliam, in November, from Woburn — "I have, you find, Sir, lingered out "my time, and I think none will wonder at it, that will reflect the "place I am going to remove to, was the scene of so much lasting "sorrow to me, and where I acted so unsuccessful a part for the "preservation of a life, I could sure have laid down mine to have "continued. 'Twas, Doctor, an inestimable treasure I did lose, and "with whom I had lived in the highest pitch of this world's felicity. "But having so many months mourned the substance, I think "(by God's assistance) the shadows will not sink me."

She removed to London soon after the date of this letter. The death of Charles the Second, and the accession of James, in the February following, were events by no means indifferent to Lady Russell. Almost every previous and subsequent measure of government was in some manner connected with her own misfortune, or had served to recall it. In the bitterness of her heart, during the second anniversary of her Lord's suffering, she says, "Sure never "any poor creature, for two whole years together, has had more "awakers to quicken and revive the anguish of its soul, than I have "had."

The death of Algernon Sydney; the trial of Mr. Hampden; the enormous fine consequent upon it, and the lesser fines levied upon those who had attempted to justify Lord Russell's memory; all these circumstances, in addition to the recent failure and execution of Monmouth, powerfully conspired to destroy her resolution of not "breaking off that bandage, which," as she expresses herself, "time "would lay over my wound."

The reflections suggested to her by Monmouth's attempt are so rational, and probably give so true a picture of the character of her Lord, as well as that of the circumstances in which he was involved, that they are as well entitled to form a part of the history of her country, as of that of her mind. "I take this late wild attempt to be a new "project, not depending on, or being linked in the least to, any former "design; if there was then any real one, which I am satisfied was "not, no more than (my own Lord confessed) talk, and it is possi- "ble that talk going so far as to consider if a remedy to supposed "evils might be sought, how it could be found. But as I was "saying, if all this late attempt was entirely new, yet the suspicion "my Lord must have lain under would have been great; and some "circumstances, I do confess, must have made his part a hard one. "So that from the deceitfulness of the heart, or want of true sight in "the directive faculty, what would have followed, God only knows. "From the frailty of the will I should have feared but little evil; for "he had so just a soul, so firm, so good, he could not warp from such "principles that were so, unless misguided by his understanding, and "that his own, not another's; for I dare say, as he could discern, he "never went into any thing considerable upon the mere submission "to any one's particular judgment. Now his own, I know, he could "never have framed to have thought well of the late actings, and "therefore most probably must have sat loose from them. But I am "afraid his excellent heart, had he lived, would have been often "pierced, from the time his life was taken away to this." (1)

After the suppression of this "wild attempt" of Monmouth's, the rapid strides of James towards the subversion of the religion and government of his country, were not unmarked by Lady Russell. We find her reading all the principal political works of the day, convinced of the mischief and confusion likely to ensue; and referring every thing, with a melancholy constancy of feelings to their mas-

(1) Published Letters, p. 65.

ter-key, reproaching herself with still mourning the absence of one, whose virtues would have led to nothing but suffering in such depraved and melancholy times.

"The new scenes of each day make me often conclude myself very "void of temper and reason, that I still shed tears of sorrow, and not "of joy, that so good a man is safe landed on the happy shore of a "blessed eternity. Doubtless he is at rest; though I find none "without him, so true a partner he was in all my joys and griefs. I "trust the Almighty will pass by this my infirmity. I speak it in "respect to the world, from whose enticing delights I can now be "better weaned. I was too rich in possessions whilst I possessed "him. All relish now is gone." * * * * * *

"In the mean time, I endeavour to suppress all wild imaginations "a melancholy fancy is apt to let in, and say, with the man in the "Gospel, 'I believe, help thou my unbelief.'"

She was this year detained unwillingly in London till the beginning of August, by the expected arrival of her uncle, M. de Ruvigny, his wife, and a niece, Mademoiselle de Ciré, who accompanied them from France. This young lady was unfortunately seized by the small-pox in London, and died in Lady Russell's house.

After removing her own children first to their grandfather's in London (1), and then carrying them down to Woburn, she returned to comfort her afflicted uncle, and to take, what she conceived would be, a last leave of "as kind a relation, and as zealous, tender a friend as ever any body had." (2) M. de Ruvigny must be said to have well deserved these epithets on the part of Lady Russell, as his principal and only business in England seems to have been, the solicitation of James the Second for the removal of the attainder of Lord Russell from his children.

Among the MSS. at Woburn are preserved copies, in Lady Russell's hand-writing, of two letters of Ruvigny to the King, and notes of several conversations with his ministers, Hyde and Go-

(1) Bedford House, in the Strand. (2) Published Letters, p. 69.

dolphin, on the subject of this favour, which seems to have always been promised in a very illusory manner. Among these papers is one endorsed by Lady Russell — "Some discourse upon a visit from the Lord Treasurer (*Hyde*) to me."

She tells him how much M. de Ruvigny had praised the Lord Treasurer's kind assistance to him: that after her misfortunes and what she has felt, she shall certainly complain of no other disappointment: that however she seconded her uncle's endeavours, except he had moved in this matter, she had certainly let it rest.

The Lord Treasurer tells her that Ruvigny, "had seemed to have "set the effecting it much on his heart, and with the greatest kind- "ness to me imaginable. I told my Lord I believed it, and indeed "the friendship was so surprising, his Lordship knew very well the "world imputed his coming to England to some other cause, or at "least, thought he had been earnestly invited to it, for the last I "positively affirmed he had not been, but as to the first, it was too "deep for me to judge of." * * * * *

"At the same time, I am sure nothing can be done *for* me now, that "can diminish, or *to* me, that can augment what I feel." * *

"I do assure your Lordship I have much more care to make my "children worthy to be great, than to see them so. I will do what "I can they may deserve to be so, and then quietly wait what will "follow. That I am very solicitous, I confess, to do my duty in "such a manner to the children of one I owe as much as can be due "to man, that if my son lives, he may not justly say hereafter, "that if he had had a mother less ignorant, or less negligent, he had "not then been to seek for what, perhaps, he may then have a mind "to have." (1)

On M. de Ruvigny's return to France, she rejoined her children at Woburn, where she continued till the Christmas following, professing to remain with Lord Bedford as long as he shall desire their company.

(1) Bedford MSS.

"So whether I will come before him, or make one company, I "know not: he shall please himself; for I have no will in these "matters, nor can like one thing or way better than another, if the "use and conveniences be alike to the young creatures; whose "service is all the business I have in this world."

The trial and acquittal of Lord Delamere, in January 1686, is a new cause of recurrence to her own harder fate: with the feelings suggested by it, she in vain reproaches herself.

"When I should rejoice with them that do rejoice, I seek a corner "to weep in. I find I am capable of no more gladness; but every "new circumstance, — the very comparing my night of sorrow after "such a day, with theirs of joy, does, from a reflection of one kind "or other, rack my uneasy mind. Though I am far from wishing "the close of theirs like mine, yet I cannot refrain giving some time "to lament mine was not like theirs."

The revocation of the edict of Nantes by Lewis XIV., the number of Protestants, fugitives for conscience-sake, who arrived in England, the cruelties exercised against those who were not lucky enough to get away, and the severe regulations made to prevent their escape, produced, this year, the liveliest sensation in England. The effects which these events had on the general feeling of the country have not, perhaps, been allowed their due weight among the causes which led directly to the Revolution: a Revolution which, profiting by the experience of the Rebellion, correcting the negligence and omissions of the Restoration, preserving all that was good in our previous government, and discarding much of the evil, finally established a system of institutions the least dependent on the individual characters of men that had then been witnessed, and, consequently, a scheme of polity, which more than a century's experience in trying and difficult times, has proved to be the best ever yet imagined for the government of men in an advanced period of civilisation.

Nothing could be more unlucky for the views of James, nor more unfavourable to his zealous ardour for the propagation of his religion, than this striking example, brought so near home, of what might be

its persecuting spirit under a despotic Prince, nursed in its exclusive principles. James had been obliged, however unwillingly, to consent that a brief should be read in all the Protestant congregations of England in behalf of their suffering brethren from France. (1) To this brief his Chancellor, Jeffries, true, as keeper of the King's conscience, to what he knew were its real feelings, twice delayed to put the seal, and afterwards made the qualifications necessary to partake of the charity so many, and their observance so strict, that few could avail themselves of it.

The effect of these transactions on the truly Christian mind of Lady Russell may be easily guessed, and are confirmed to us by the manner in which she had previously expressed herself to Dr. Fitzwilliam, as to the qualities she required in a domestic chaplain. "I approve "with you the Church of England, — the best Church and best offices "and services in it upon the face of the earth that we know of. But, "Sir, I shall covet one so moderate, as not to be impatient and "passionate against all such as cannot think so too; but of such a "temper as to be able to converse peaceably with such as may have "freedom in my family, though not of it, without giving offence, and "I take it to be the best way of gaining good people to our "opinions." (2)

Her letters, at this period, are full of horror at the accounts which every post brought from France, of the persevering folly of Lewis XIV., in attempting to dragoon his subjects into his own faith. The contemptuous pity with which she speaks of his conduct and sentiments (3), forms a singular contrast to the language of excessive and inflated panegyric, with which he was addressed on this infatuated measure, not only by his dependent courtiers, but even by those whose genius and talents illustrated his reign, and by some, on whose

(1) It was on this occasion that Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury, said to Dr. Beveridge, who refused to read the brief in the cathedral, as contrary to the Rubric, "Doctor, Doctor, charity is above Rubrics."

(2) Published Letters, p. 21.

(3) Published Letters, p. 78.

pure mind and sound judgment, the prejudices of the times and of their religion, seem alone to have cast a cloud. (1)

Lady Russell now saw the uncle, from whom she had so lately parted as for the last time, once again in England. The great age of M. de Ruvigny did not prevent him from availing himself of the especial permission he had obtained from the favour of Lewis XIV., to remove himself and family to England. Early in this year, Lady Russell talks of going to see him at Greenwich, where he had established himself, and where his residence probably attracted that of many poorer fugitives. Mr. Evelyn, in his Diary, mentions, that he assisted at a French sermon, in Greenwich Church, "to a congregation "of above a hundred French refugees, of which M. de Ruvigny was "the chief," and for whom he had obtained the use of the Parish Church, after the English service was over.

Among these refugees, Lady Russell, with her usual good sense, is disposed to look for some one to place about her son, now between five and six years old, to secure to him an early knowledge of the French language. His grandfather, it seems, thought the boy too young "to be put to learn in earnest," which would be the case with a tutor; but Lady Russell, although professing her intention "ever "to take Lord Bedford along in all concerns of the child," yet says, "I think perhaps to overcome my Lord in that, and assure him he "shall not be pressed. But I am much advised, and indeed inclined, "if I could be fitted to my mind, to take a Frenchman; so I "shall do a charity, and profit the child also, who should learn "French. Here are many scholars come over, as are of all kinds, "God knows." (2) With this anxious and rational attention to

(1) The rational and profound La Bruycre, speaking of all that had been done by Cardinal Richelieu, says, "Il y a eu du tems de reste pour entamer un ouvrage, continué "ensuite, et achevé par l'un de nos plus grands et mielleurs Princes, *l'Extinction de "l'Hérésie.*" — Caracteres de la Bruyere, vol. ii. p. 54.

(2) Published Letters, p. 90.

his education, his character, and his conduct, we shall find her following her son through life, regardless of her own fears, anxieties, or indulgence.

The confidence as well as respect inspired by the character of Lady Russell, was such, that all who had any claim on her, either of friendship or connection, were anxious to avail themselves of her advice, support, and intervention.

On occasion of a marriage, which she is requested at this time to propose to Lord Gainsborough for one of his daughters, she expresses the very natural reluctance she feels at being drawn again, for the first time, into the affairs of the world. "I have just dated my letter to "my Lady Digby, of Coleshill, written in answer to hers, by which she "desires me, in pursuance of a dying brother's advice, and her son's (1) "inclination, to propose to Lord Gainsborough a marriage between "the present Lord, and Lady Jane. I have done it, though I wished "she had made choice of any other person than myself, who, desiring "to know the world no more, am utterly unfit for the management "of any thing in it; but must as I can, engage in such necessary "offices to my children, as I cannot be dispensed from, nor desire to "be, since it is an eternal obligation upon me, to the memory of a "husband, to whom and to his, I have dedicated the few and sad "remainder of my days." (2)

Among the letters in this collection, will be found one addressed to her by Mr. Howe (3), stating to her the probability of an advantageous marriage for the Earl of Bedford's (then) eldest son, Mr. Edward Russell. By the manner in which Mr. Howe expresses himself, we learn the great weight Lady Russell's opinion was likely

(1) Afterwards distinguished by the honourable appellation of the *Good Lord Digby*.

(2) Published Letters, p. 90.

(3) The Rev. John Howe was a dissenting minister. He had been Chaplain to Cromwell, and was afterwards a great friend of Tillotson's. He was a good orientalist, understood several modern languages, and was one of the most learned writers among the Dissenters. See Granger's Biographical History, vol. iii. p. 219.

to have with the Lady, although personally a stranger to her, and the entire confidence reposed in her judgment by all the friends of the Bedford family. Her answer proves how much she deserved it. The marriage in question took place soon afterwards with much happiness to both parties.

Lady Russell's active friendship as well as patient courage, were within two years after this date rewarded by a proposal of marriage for her own daughter, which must have been singularly gratifying to every feeling of her heart, which she herself calls "a glimmering of "light I did not look for in my dark day."

Lord Cavendish, the generous and active friend of Lord Russell, who had shared his private friendship, as well as political sentiments, who had gallantly proposed taking his place in the Tower, and favouring his escape by a change of clothes, — Lord Cavendish, now become Earl of Devonshire (1), faithful to the memory, and attached

(1) This is the same person who, not long before, had been fined by the Court of King's Bench in the sum of thirty thousand pounds, for having given a blow to Colonel Culpeper, in the King's presence-chamber at Whitehall. Although a peer, the time-serving judges of James's Court of King's Bench had committed him to prison, until the payment of this enormous fine. He contrived to escape from a confinement, which we may suppose was not very strictly guarded, and retired to Chatsworth, from whence he addressed the following spirited letter, explanatory of his conduct, to Lord Middleton, then Secretary of State.

"My Lord,

"About three weeks since, I was obliged to make a journey into the country, as well for my health, as to look after my own private affairs, still retaining and paying for a lodging in the prison, which I hope may free me from the imputation of an escape. Since that, the Lord Chancellor (*Jeffries*) (who I conceive has, regularly, nothing to do in this matter, it being foreign to his jurisdiction) has not only reviled the Marshal of the King's-Bench with the most opprobrious language, and threatened to hang him, but likewise procured a warrant to be sent after me, signed by a puny (*puisné*) Judge, which your Lordship very well knows is not of force all over England. But had it been signed by my Lord Chief Justice himself, I cannot but insist upon that, which I take to be the right of all the peers of England, not to be imprisoned for debt. I think I have pretty well showed my readiness to submit to His Majesty's pleasure in all things that concern myself alone; but hope His Majesty in his justice will allow the great sums which my father lent, and was

to the remains of his friend, proposed to unite their children by the marriage of his son with Lord Russell's eldest daughter.

The extreme youth of the parties (1) made it an affair to be first treated between their parents, which indeed was generally the case in the marriages of the young nobility at the times of which we are speaking. In the present instance, when much property was to be settled on both sides, and where the parties were too young to live together, the delays in the final arrangement of their union were only troublesome to their parents. Lady Russell mentions, more than once, her perpetual occupation with lawyers, and the slowness with which the treaty of marriage creeps on. "I have," she says, "a well-bred Lord to deal with, yet inflexible, if the point is not to "his advantage." And excuses her delays in answering letters, by saying:—"But in earnest I am in a great and constant hurry to do "my duty to my child, and to my friend, sister Margaret Russell; "which, by God's grace, I design to do as cordially as to my children. "I meet with many difficulties in both, yet in my girl's there is no "stop, but such as the former settlements cause, which (from any "thing we can learn of yet) will hinder a conclusion till he is "sixteen." (2)

While Lady Russell was experiencing all the delays of the law in the settlement of the affairs of her family, James II. seemed deter-

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bound in for the King, his father, (not to mention the loss of his estate for many years,) to be, at least, as just a debt as any that may arise from the late scandalous judgment given against me by the Court of King's Bench. I am yet to learn in what I have given His Majesty any just cause of offence, and must not forget that I was very moderate, at a time when a certain bawling lawyer I could name was very violent. My Lord, I beg the favour of your Lordship to acquaint His Majesty with the contents of this letter, and to excuse this trouble from, &c. &c." Dev. MSS.

(1) She was 14, and he not 16 years old.

(2) The marriage here alluded to, was between Lady Margaret Russell and Lord Strafford. It did not take place, from some insurmountable difficulties about the settlement of his affairs. But in a letter from him to Lord Halifax on the subject, he expresses himself "particularly obliged to Lady Russell on the matter we have written of."

mined to abridge their tedious operations in the conduct of the affairs of the public, by substituting the more expeditious process of prerogative. It is unnecessary to dwell here on the political measures of this eventful, and never-to-be-forgotten period. Lady Russell, we see by her letters (1), marked, with an anxious and sorrowing eye, the progress of those principles from which she had herself so cruelly suffered.

When Dykevelt arrived in England, at the beginning of this year, as Minister Plenipotentiary from the States of Holland, he was particularly charged to wait on Lady Russell. She has herself preserved notes of an interview which must have been so grateful to her feelings.

He told her he came by express order of the Prince and Princess of Orange to condole with her on her loss, and assure her of the lively interest they took in it, both as having a great and just regard for the two families to which she belonged, and as considering her Lord's death as a great blow to the interests of the Protestant religion; assuring her, at the same time, there was nothing in their power they were not ready do, either for herself or her son. Mr. Dykevelt declared that he did not deliver this message in his private capacity, but that he was charged with it as a public minister. He afterwards added much of the high value and esteem the Prince and Princess had ever had of the private character of Lord Russell; and as a mark of what every body must have thought of his suffering, told her that when it was mentioned at the table of King James's minister at the Hague, Skelton himself had said: "The King indeed "has taken the life of one man, but has lost that of thousands by "it." It is to be regretted that Lady Russell's letter of thanks to the Princess of Orange for this distinguished attention, is not to be found, as it produced from the Princess an answer in warmer ex-

(1) Published Letters, passim.

pressions of friendship and attachment than she was accustomed to use. (1)

In June of this year Lady Russell makes her long-intended visit to Stratton. Her anticipation of the feelings she was likely to experience on returning, for the first time, to that place, seem to have lessened none of their poignancy. She describes herself as "indeed "brimfull with the memory of that unfortunate and miserable change "in my own condition, since I lived regularly here before. The poor "children are well pleased to be a little while in a new place, "ignorant how much better it has been both to me and them; yet I "thought I found Rachael not insensible; and I could not but be "content with it in my own mind. Those whose age can afford "them any remembrance, should, methinks, have some solemn "thoughts for so irreparable a loss to themselves and family; though "after that, I would cherish a cheerful temper in them, with all the "industry I can; for sure we please our Maker best, when we take "all his providences with a cheerful spirit." (2)

We have here again a striking instance of the admirable temper of Lady Russell's mind, anxious to prevent her own unhappy fate from influencing the character and happiness of those who were farther removed from its effects; and justly conceiving that the sorrows of human life are intended to purify and elevate the mind, not to depress and weaken it. These principles she not only professed, but practised. In a letter from Stratton, written at this time, and the day before the anniversary of her Lord's arrest, she says, "To-morrow, "being Sunday, I purpose to sanctify it, if my griefs unhallow it not "by unprofitable passion." And how does she purpose to sanctify it? Not by Pharisaical observances — not by excessive indulgence in sorrow; but by a new exertion over her own feelings, by resolving, "After having given some hours to privacy in the morning, to live "in my house as on other days, doing my best to be tolerably com-

(1) See Published Letters, p. 132.

(2) Published Letters, p. 129.

" posed. It is my first trial; for all these sad years, I have dispensed " with seeing any body, or till late at night. Sometimes I could not " avoid *that*, without a singularity I do not affect. There are three " days I like to give up to reflection; the day in which my Lord " was parted from his family, that of his trial, and the day he was " released from all the evils of this perishing world."

Lady Russell remained at Stratton with her children till the end of this year. On her removal to town, she expresses herself in the same strain, of the occupation now given her by her daughter's proposed marriage, of her business with lawyers, and many other worldly engagements. " I would fain be delivered from them, conclude my " affairs, and so put some period to that inroad methinks I make in " my intended manner of living the rest of my days on earth. But " I hope my duty will always prevail over the strongest inclination I " have. I believe to assist my yet helpless children is my business, " which makes me take many dinners abroad, and do of that nature " many things, the performance of which is hard enough to a heavy " and weary mind, but yet I bless God for it."

After all the impediments of the law were removed, the marriage was still farther delayed by the illness of the intended bride, who caught the measles in the Spring of this year. At last the celebration took place, on the 21st June; a season, of all others, that which Lady Russell would least have chosen for such a purpose; but she tells us, " My Lord Devon hurried it off, being in great haste to go to the Bath;" and her own feelings immediately yielded to the convenience of those of others.

The chastened joy with which she saw the completion of her wishes on this subject, and the feelings it excited, are expressed by herself in an affecting manner: " This very solemnity has afforded me, alas! " many a thought I was forced to check with all my force, they mak- " ing me too tender, though in retirement they are pleasant; and " that way I can indulge myself in at present. Sure if departed souls " know what we do, he approves of what I have done; and it is a re-

" ward upon his children for his patience, and so entire submission " during his sufferings."

It is remarkable, that the principal circumstances in the life of Lady Russell are most of them connected, or contemporary, with great events in the history of her country.

Within a week after the marriage of her daughter, the memorable trial took place of seven prelates of the church of England, who proved at once the strength of their faith, as well as the purity of their doctrine, by manfully resisting, in spiritual matters, not only the entreaties but the commands of a Prince, to whom, and to whose family, their unshaken fidelity afterwards willingly sacrificed every temporal advantage. In this instance, as in many others, it was the privilege and the reward of a truly great and laudable action, to occasion a much more extensive good than that at which it aimed.

The quiet and respectful, but steady resistance made by the bishops, drew out and exposed the obstinate bigotry of the King to his plans and opinions. It set an example of resistance, unaccompanied by violence, and anticipated the sentiments and gratitude of the nation for similar exertions in the state, by the lively interest and enthusiastic joy manifested on the success of these champions of the church.

Such exertions were already made; an association (1) was already formed, of names which are inscribed in the fastes of their grateful country. Measures were already taking, which, however they may have been subsequently reputed too weak by faction, and too strong by prerogative, have established for ever a standard to which to recur; a rule by which to estimate our rights, our expectations, and our demands.

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(1) The Association, whose members invited over the Prince of Orange, was dated the 30th June, 1688, and was signed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Lumley, the Bishop of London, Admiral Russell, and Mr. Henry Sidney, afterwards Lord Romney.

To say it was imperfect, that it was supported by some unworthy characters, and furthered by some exceptionable means, is only saying it was the work of man. When we look to the civil and religious liberty it has secured to a great people for above a century, we shall believe that work of man approved and protected by Heaven.

Lord and Lady Cavendish remained for about three weeks after their marriage with Lady Russell, at Southampton House, and then removed with her and the Earl of Bedford to Woburn. The relief she expresses at finding herself once again in the quiet of the country, after the hurry and business of London, in the circumstances in which she had lately been placed, it is as impossible not to enter into, as it is not to admire the manner in which she united to the sentiment of her unremovable sorrow, an exact, scrupulous, and cheerful discharge of her duties, and a strict watch over the effects which her feelings were likely to produce upon her conduct. "The "pensive quiet I hope for here, I think will be very grateful to my "wearied body and mind; yet when I contemplate the fruits and "labour of these last six months, it brings some comfort to my mind, "as an evidence that I do not live only to lament my misfortunes, "and be humbled by those heavy chastisements I have felt, and must "for ever in this life press me sorely. That I have not sunk under "the pressure, has been, I hope, in mercy, that I might be better "fitted for my eternal state, and form the children of a loved hus-"band, before I go hence. With these thoughts I can be hugely "content to live, and the rather as the clouds seem to gather, and "threaten storms, though God only knows how I may acquit myself, "and what help I may be, or what example I shall give to my "young creatures: I mean well towards them, if I know my heart."

These last paragraphs evidently relate to the critical state of the country. It was such as might well excite the anxiety of a less thoughtful mind than that of Lady Russell, as to the future fate of all that was most dear to them.

In the month of August, Lord Cavendish was sent to finish his education by travelling on the Continent. His father was probably not sorry that he should be out of the way of the difficult scenes that were likely to ensue, while he was yet too young to take an active part in them. He was first sent to Brussells, and from thence into France and Italy; and remained above two years abroad, returning to England at the end of the year 1690.

In the mean time, the happy issue of the measures that had been taken placed the Prince and Princess of Orange on the throne of England. The active and honourable part borne by the heads, both of the Russell and Cavendish families in these events, were alone necessary to have deeply interested Lady Russell, independently of her own individual feelings, which we find strongly marked in all her letters. (1)

She passed the remainder of this memorable year at Woburn, except a visit of two days to London, in the beginning of October, where she mentions having "left all in amaze, and all talking of "the same matter." — "I think I fear not for myself, but I am afraid "what risk my children may run; and if that were not, our weak "faith would furnish us with some other reason to justify our too "great carefulness. (2)

Immediately after the landing of the Prince of Orange, she says to Dr. Fitzwilliam; "I have rambled the more (*in her letter*) because "one is in prudence confined not to speak of matters one is strangely "bent to be talking of." When we remember that two entire months elapsed between the landing of the Prince of Orange in this country, and the final departure of James, we shall feel that during the whole of that anxious period, it is difficult to conceive a position more interesting, or circumstances more difficult, than those in which the persons actively concerned in this great scene were placed, between the bad effects of an appearance of indifference, and too great,

(1) See Published Letters, passim.

(2) Published Letters, p. 174.

or premature eagerness, which might have ruined their game before their opponent had thrown up his. (1) At last, in the beginning of

(1) The following letter, written from London on the 29th November, 1688, addressed to Lady Margaret Russell at Woburn, although containing merely the reports and gossip of the moment, may not be unentertaining to the reader: —

November 29. 1688.

"I have taken a larger size of paper, that I may have more room to quarrel with Lady Margett for saying so unkind a thing as that she obliges me with a short letter, it being a civility I never was guilty of to your Ladyship; but since you have given me the example, will endeavour to practise it. I hoped you had been so just as to believe that, next your company, you could not more oblige me than with a letter; and the longer they were, the greater favour they were esteemed by your humble servant. I have not had the happiness of seeing your aunt Bristoll, or hearing any thing of her a great while: the last I did was when she was in tears for her nephew Frank's revolt, and that so many of her family should be rebels to the crown. I heard the great Lady * (said) she could not go to bed last winter till she had heard one said lately that she hated all the Russells. I fear all this together will break my good friend's heart. I confess I never longed more to see her than I do now, but I think she stirs little abroad. Mr. Francis Russell's coach and six, and all his baggage, were taken going to him. Soon after the Prince landed, the packet-boat was taken going to Holland, but nothing of any great consequence, as I heard of. Letters of his to the States and other Princes, and one of Dr. Burnet's to his dear, and William Harbord's to his wife, with my dear and my duck, &c. &c., and Mr. Foster's to his lady to send him some beds, lodgings being very ill. They serve to make jests on, but little else, I think. Mrs. Boyle has a daughter. I hear, but how true I cannot tell you, that the match is going on again with Miss Allington and Lord Fanshaw. The Duke of Albemarle is dead. Lord Dover is gone to Portsmouth, being governor of that place in the Duke of Berwick's room. Lord Milford and Duke of Northumberland are made of the bed-chamber, in Lord Churchill's and Duke of Grafton's places. They say Lord Feversham was upon his knees two hours, and cried and begged the King but to secure Lord Churchill, but he would believe nothing ill of him. Mr. Griffin is made a lord, and to be called Lord Griffin, for his fidelity. They say the Queen is told Lady Cornbury † lines all her gowns with orange colour, and wears nothing but orange ribbons. They say our young Prince is to be brought back again next week from Portsmouth, and put into the Bishop of Canterbury's hands to be brought up: you may believe it, if you please. The great guns came by us yesterday, into town again; but the ammunition, I think, is lost. The King goes to Windsor to-morrow, and there, it is said, will encamp all his army that is left; but the good Queen stays to govern us here. The lords and bishops that were summoned on Tuesday, pressed very hard for a free parliament: the King took till next morning to consider of it, and then agreed to it; and Lord Chancellor gave order for the writs to be ready to-day, that no time may be lost; so it is to be called

* James the Second's Queen, Mary of Modena.

† The Lady Catherine Obrian, daughter of the Earl of Thomond, married to Edward Lord Cornbury, son of the second Earl of Clarendon. Lord Cornbury joined the Prince of Orange with his regiment at Salisbury.

December, while the Prince of Orange was yet at Salisbury, and Dr. Burnet in his suite, Lady Russell, who had always maintained a correspondence with the latter, sends him a special messenger from Woburn. She had written to him on some previous occasions, and now tells him, "I have, I may say, created *this*, since the bearer of "it has no other errand than to carry this paper, and return charged, "I hope, with such good reports as every good soul wishes for.

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with all speed, and commissioners, they say, are to be sent to the Prince, to know what he demands. The town names Lord Halifax, Lord Nottingham, Lord Carberry, for the commissioners; the two first were sent for yesterday, and were a great while with the King alone. Lord Lumley, they say, has secured Newcastle, and some other lords, Hull; Lord Bath has taken Lord Huntington prisoner at Plymouth: his lady desired he might be exchanged for Lord Lovelace, who the Papists say is released. Lord Devonshire, they say, when the Prince's declaration was read, and that part of being invited in by the Lords temporal and spiritual, declared he was one, and Lord Delamere did the same, and it is said they declared for the King, the Protestant religion, and a free Parliament. Skelton is made governor of the Tower, which it is said the city is less satisfied with than with Hales. We have no news of the Princess, but hope she is safe. It is said there was an order out that morning to have secured her. The Prince (*George of Denmark*) made his escape with the Duke of Ormond, much after the same manner: supped with the King on Saturday night, and went to bed, but soon rose again, and it is said made it his business at supper to condemn those that were gone, and how little such people were to be trusted, and sure the Prince could put no confidence in such, &c. Lady Littleton talks of coming after Christmas, if things are settled here.

"I have not kept my promise at the beginning, so hard it is for me to break an old custom; but to punish you a little, at present, is no grief to me, being not at this time Lady Margaret's humble servant. Lord Dunbarton seized Colonel Kirke at the head of 3000 or 4000 men, going, as was suspected, to the Prince of Orange; and he is brought to London, and to be tried, as it is said, by a council of war. Lord Halifax, they say, made the most tender and obliging speech at council that was ever heard, but they do not give that character of Lord Clarendon's, but the contrary. Duke of Berwick has Lord Churchill's troop of guards, or the Duke of Grafton's, I know not which; and Lord Arran has his regiment of horse, and his brother his regiment. Colonel Kirke has been before the council this day, and the King has taken his word, and he is only confined to his chamber. Lord Churchill and Prince George have written the most submissive letters to the King that can be, and it is said there is one from the Prince of Orange too, but that it is not known what is in it. Sir George Hewet is gone ten days ago, and Mr. Heningame.

"Thursday night.

"*For the Right Honourable the Lady Margarett Russell, at Wooburn Abby, Bedfordshire.* Dev. MSS.

"*Wooborne Bagg.*"

" Curiosity may be too eager, and therefore not to be justified; but " sure it is unavoidable. I do not ask you should satisfy any part of " it, farther than you can in six lines. But I would see something of " your hand-writing upon English ground, and not read in print only " the labour of your brains." (1)

Burnet, it is known, wrote the declaration published at Exeter, explanatory of the intentions of the association which had invited over the Prince of Orange. His answer to Lady Russell's letter was, probably out of prudence, immediately destroyed, as no trace remains of any of his letters to her at this immediate juncture. She tells Dr. Fitzwilliam, on the 8th of December, while still remaining in the country, " I confess one would be very glad to spend some hours in " free discourse with a friend there is no need to disguise any thought " before. When it is denied, one must be content as one can. I " think having staid so long in the country, in the hurly-burly, we " shall try it a little longer." (2) She, however, removed to town with the Earl of Bedford, in time to witness the departure of the King, and the peaceable settlement by Parliament of the new government; which she speaks of with the amazement it must necessarily have occasioned in all contemporaries: — " Those who " have lived longest, and therefore seen the most change, can " scarec believe it is more than a dream; yet it is real, and so " amazing a reality of mercy, as ought to melt our hearts into " subjection and resignation to Him, who is the dispenser of all " providences." (3)

The young Lady Cavendish was present with her mother-in-law, the Countess of Devonshire, at the proclamation of William and Mary, and accompanied her to their first drawing-room in the evening of the same day. (4) The following account which she gives of it, in a letter to some young friend in the country (5), is interesting from

(1) Published Letters, p. 188. (2) Published Letters, p. 187.

(3) Published Letters, p. 191.

(4) The 13th of February, 1689, the day after the Princess arrived in London from Holland.

(5) Probably her cousin, Mrs. (Miss) Jane Allington.

the memorable events and persons of which she speaks, as an eye-witness.

" February 1689."

" It is a great affliction to me to be so far from my dear beloved " *Silvia*, and to hear from her so seldom: how happy shall I be when " I see you next; how many things I have to tell you: for I dare " not trust affairs of so great concern in a letter. But when will that " time come? I do not hear you speak of removing yet, to my grief. " Pray leave your ugly prison as soon as you can, and come to your " *Dorinda*. (1) But now to my news; the House of Lords did vote that " the Prince and Princess should be made King and Queen, and it " was carried by a good many voices, for Lord Nottingham and " many more came off. Lord Nottingham had a great mind to " come off before, but could not tell which way; then the Commons " agreed also that the Prince and Princess should be King and " Queen, but that the Prince should have the sole administration of " affairs in his hands; that the Princess should be no subject neither, " as Queen Katherine and Queen Mary were, but a Sovereign Queen, " and her name put in every thing; but still he the management " of affairs. This they agreed upon, and so did the Lords; then " they went to the grievances, (that is) the too great power of the " crown. After they had agreed upon what power to give the King, " and what to take away from him, (the particulars of which I cannot " tell you,) my Lord Halifax, who is chairman, went to the Banquetting " House, where the Princess and Prince were, and made them a short " speech, desiring them in the name of all the Lords to accept of the " crown. The Prince answered him in a few words, and the Princess " made curtsies. They say, when they named her father's faults, she

(1) These names, given to herself and to her correspondent, and afterwards to the King and Queen, were taken from some of the fashionable romances of the day, perhaps Clelia; as in a letter addressed to Lady Cavendish, just before her marriage, the writer says: — " There will be no talking to your sister, when she has read Clelia; for the wise folks say, " it is the most improving book can be read." Dev. MSS.

"looked down as if she was troubled; then Mr. Powle, the "Speaker of the House of Commons, showed the Prince what they "had agreed of, but made no speech. After this ceremony was "ended, they proclaimed them King and Queen of England. Many of "the churchmen would not have had it done that day, because it was "Ash-Wednesday. I was at the sight, and, you may imagine, very "much pleased to see *Ormanzor* and *Phenixana* proclaimed King and "Queen of England, in the room of King James, my father's "murderer. There was wonderful acclamations of joy, which, though "they were very pleasing to me, yet they frightened me too; for I "could not but think what a dreadful thing it is to fall into the "hands of the rabble — they are such a strange sort of people. At "night I went to Court with my Lady Devonshire, and kissed the "Queen's hand, and the King's also. There was a world of bonfires "and candles almost in every house, which looked extremely "pretty. The King applies himself mightily to business, and "is wonderfully admired for his great wisdom and prudence in "ordering all things. He is a man of no presence, but looks very "homely at first sight; but if one looks long on him, he has some-"thing in his face both wise and good. But as for the Queen, she "is really altogether very handsome; her face is very agreeable, and "her shape and motions extremely graceful and fine. She is tall, "but not so tall as the last Queen, Her room was mighty full of "company, as you may guess." (1)

One of the first acts of the government of William and Mary, after its peaceable establishment, was the reversal of Lord Russell's attainder.

His execution was already denominated a "murder," by a vote of the House of Commons; and a committee was appointed to enquire who were "its advisers and promoters," as well as of that of all the other persons who had suffered for the Rye-House plot. The publicity and length of their proceedings, and the examination of a

(1) Dev. MSS.

multitude of witnesses, raked up every circumstance, and refreshened every recollection which Lady Russell was in vain struggling to forget. Thus while her feelings must have been highly gratified by the result of this enquiry, they were severely shaken by the measures which necessarily preceded it. Her sister, Lady Montagu, tells her, she is very sorry to find that her " thoughts have been so disturbed " with what I thought ought to have some contrary effect." (1)

Had Lady Russell's mind been of an ordinary stamp, she would certainly at this time have found more to elate, than to depress it. Honours were showered on the two families to which she was the most nearly allied, and in whose prosperity she was the most warmly interested (2); and the respect and consideration acquired by her own individual conduct was such as no worldly distinctions could confer. To her enlightened mind, to her candid estimation of motives, and allowances for different modes of faith, her friend Dr. Fitzwilliam, refers his conscientious resignation of preferment under the new government; and Tillotson applies for her sanction to his acceptance of the dignity offered him by King William. Such indeed was the deference paid to her opinion, and the importance attached to her good will, that even the confident mind of the Duchess of Marlborough thought it necessary to assure herself of Lady Russell's approbation, in the critical juncture of advising the Princess Anne to acquiesce in the settlement of the crown on the Prince of Orange. (3) From Lady Russell we find no intimation of this flattering reference; but the Duchess of Marlborough herself records, that she could not satisfy her own mind

(1) Published Letters, p. 251.

(2) The Earl of Bedford was made one of the Privy Council and Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, and Middlesex. The Earl of Devonshire was made a Knight of the Garter, Lord Steward of the King's household, and acted as High Steward of England at the ensuing coronation of William and Mary.

(3) It was this circumstance that suggested to the lively and enthusiastic mind of Madame de Staël, the belief that Lady Russell was afterwards consulted by the ministers of King William, and by Queen Anne herself, on political measures. See *Considerations sur la Revolution Françoise*, vol. iii. p. 290.

till she "had consulted with several persons of undisputed wisdom "and integrity, and particularly with the Lady Russell of Southamp- "ton House, and with Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of "Canterbury." (1) Both before and after Tillotson's exaltation to this dignity, we find him giving a detailed account to Lady Russell of the intended preferments in the church, and assuring her of the respect which the King was disposed to pay both to her wishes and those of Lord Bedford in his nominations to preferment in London.

To her friend Dr. Fitzwilliam she writes: "I am very sorry the "case stands with you as it does, in reference to the oath; and still "wonder (unless I could find Kings of divine right) why it does! "And all this in the acceptation of a word which I never heard two "declare the meaning of, but they differed in the sense of it." After thus stating her rational opinion of the oaths he could not resolve to take, she most kindly assures him of her assistance and the continuance of her friendship wherever his conscientious sense of duty may lead him, and finally tells him: — "Whilst, in the mean time, I "see those whose sincerity and ability I have equal value for, point "blank contrary one to another; yet both will be, I doubt not, ac- "cepted at the great day of trial. I will take leave, Sir, to wish you "converted." (2)

With such sentiments, we shall not wonder that, having now in her hands, in more than one instance, the dangerous power of retaliation, and of reproach to those whom she felt had neglected, or been deaf to her supplications in the day of her distress, her manner of exerting this power proves how well she had profited by "the uses "of adversity."

Lady Sunderland, the wife of him whose time-serving politics ended necessarily in his own disgrace, — of him who had been a

(1) See account of the conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 23.

(2) Published Letters, p. 259. Dr. Fitzwilliam died unmarried, soon after the date of this letter, which was in June 1696.

principal minister and adviser of Charles II. at the time of Lord Russell's execution, now applied to his yet sorrowing widow for her intercession and good offices with the reigning powers. (1)

Lady Sunderland's letters to Lady Russell (which it would seem were frequent) are not extant; but the following expressions in her answer to one of them ought to have forcibly struck Lady Sunderland from the pen of Lady Russell: — "So unhappy a solicitor "as I was once for my poor self and family, my heart misgives "me when I aim at any thing of that kind any more." The rest of the letter proves, in the least offensive manner, that she was perfectly aware of the flattering and insincere character of her correspondent. (2)

The following letter from Lord Halifax, in answer to one of condolence which Lady Russell had addressed to him on his losing two sons within the short space of a twelvemonth, expresses an entire

(1) Ann Digby, wife of Robert Earl of Sunderland, was the daughter of George, the last Earl of Bristol of that family. The character of this lady is thus given by the Princess Anne of Denmark to her sister the Princess of Orange, a few months before the Revolution. "His Lady, too, (i. e. Lady Sunderland) is as extraordinary in her kind; for "she is a flattering, dissembling, false woman; but she has so fawning and endearing a "way, that she will deceive any body at first, and it is not possible to find out all her "ways in a little time. Then she has had her gallants, though may be not so many as "some ladies here, and with all these good qualities, she is a constant church-woman; "so that to outward appearance, one would take her for a saint, and to hear her talk, "you would think she was a very good Protestant; but she is as much one as the other: "for it is certain that her Lord does nothing without her." — March 13. 1688. * * * * * * * "She goes to St. Martin's morning and afternoon, (because "there are not people enough to see her in Whitehall chapel,) and is half an hour before "other people come, and half an hour after every body is gone, at her private devotions. "She runs from church to church after the most famous preachers, and keeps such a clatter "with her devotions, that it really turns one's stomach. Sure never was a couple so well "matched as she and her good husband; for as she is throughout, in all her actions, the "greatest jade that ever was, so he is the subtillest, workingnest villain that is on the face of "the earth." March 20. 1688. — See Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 298, et passim. — See likewise frequent and more honourable mention made of this lady in Evelyn's Diary, vol. i.

(2) Published Letters, p. 252.

confidence in her heart and understanding, as well as much devotion to her interests. It is written while under those feelings of dissatisfaction, to which his unpopularity with the triumphant Whigs had given rise, and which ended, soon after, in his resignation of the Privy Seal.

"Madam,

"I must own that my reason is not strong enough to bear with "indifference the losses that have lately happened in my family; but, "at the same time, I must acknowledge I am not a little supported "by the continuance of your Ladyship's favour to me, in the obliging "remembrance I have received from you, and in your condoling the "affliction of the man in the world that is most devoted to you. I "am impatient till I have the honour of an hour's conversation with "your Ladyship, to ease my mind of the just complaints I have, "that such returns are made to the zeal I have endeavoured to express, "in my small capacity, for the good of England. I cannot but think "it the fantastical influence of my ill stars, very peculiar to myself, all "circumstances considered; but whilst I am under the protection of "your Ladyship's better opinion, the malice or mistakes of others "can never have the force so much as to discompose,

"Madam,

"Your Ladyship's most obedient servant,

"HALIFAX."

London, July 23. 1689. (1)

* * * * *

Lady Russell's answer to this letter is among those already published. It is remarkable for its good sense, its earnest recommendation of the consolations of religion, (to which Lord Halifax was supposed too much a stranger,) and for the manner in which it

(1) Dev. MSS.

touches on her own misfortunes, and the ineffectual exertions of Lord Halifax to assist her on that occasion. (1) The high opinion which the new sovereigns were known to entertain of Lady Russell, and the favour she was supposed to possess, produced many applications for her patronage and interest. Of this interest she seems to have made the temperate and rational use which might have been expected from a delicate mind, united to a friendly disposition. Addressing Queen Mary, in favour of one of Lord Carberry's family, she says: — "It is a sensible "trouble to me when I do importune Your Majesty, yet I do some-"times submit, because I would not be quite useless to such as hope "for some benefit by my means, and I desire to do what good I can."

The favours she asked were few; but for the friends whose interests she espoused, she exerted herself with all the earnestness and perseverance she could have practised for herself. In the letters already published, we find that the Lord Chancellor Cooper owed his having

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(1) The letter is as follows. Published Letters, p. 224.

"My Lord,

"For my part, I think the man a very indifferent reasoner, that, to do well, he must take with indifference whatever happens to him. It is very fine to say, Why should we complain that is taken back, which was but lent us, and lent us but for a time, we know; and so on. They are the receipts of philosophers I have no reverence for, as I have not for any thing unnatural. It is insincere, and I dare say they did dissemble, and felt what they would not own. I know I cannot dispute with Almighty Power; but yet, if my delight is gone, I must needs be sorry it is taken away, according to the measure it made me glad. The Christian religion alone, believe me, my Lord, has a power to make the spirit easy under great calamity. Nothing less than the hope of being again made happy, can satisfy the mind. I am sure I owe it more than I could have done to the world, if all the glories of it had been offered me, or to be disposed of by me. And I do sincerely desire your Lordship may experience the truth of my opinion. You know better than most, from the share you have had of the one, what they *do* afford, and I hope you will prove what tranquillity the other gives. If I had a better wish to make your Lordship's constant expressions of esteem for me, *and willingness, as I hope, to have had me less miserable than I am; if you had found your power equal to your will* engages me to make it, and that alone would have bound me, though my own unworthiness and ill fortune had let you have forgot me for ever after my sad lot. But since you would not do so, it must deserve a particular acknowledgment for ever, from

"July, 1689. Your Lordship's, &c."

been first appointed a king's counsel, at the early age of twenty-four, to her immediate application to King William in his behalf; and that the difficulties this appointment afterwards experienced from the Attorney-General, and the Commissioners of the Great Seal, were successfully removed by Lady Russell's repeated statements to Lord Halifax, and the Attorney-General Pollexfen, on the subject; to the latter of whom she says, with the conscious feeling of one seldom a supplicant, and to whom all motives of self-interest were unknown: — "I undertake few things, and therefore do very little good to people; "but I do not like to be baulked when I thought my end compassed." The high character and future success of Mr. Cooper in his profession, prove that she did not lightly adopt the interests of those whom she determined not to abandon.

Lady Russell's health, which she acknowledges with gratitude had not sunk under her mental sufferings, but that, on the contrary, she had enjoyed a freedom from bodily pain, "to a degree I almost "never knew; not so much as a strong fit of headache have I felt "since that miserable time, who used to be tormented with it very "frequently." (1) But she now began to perceive the approaches of infirmity, and to feel it particularly, in the alarming form of a rapidly increasing weakness of sight. She complains of the badness of her eyes in the year 1689; but seems not to have been aware of any local disease in them, till about two years afterwards, when her increased blindness obliges her to take advice, to abstain from writing by candle-light, and shortly after from reading.

It has been said that Lady Russell wept herself blind: this is not a true statement of her case; for although she tells us herself, "My "eyes are ever ready to pour out the marks of a sorrowful heart, "which I must even carry to my grave," the complaint in her sight proved to be a cataract on her left eye, a disease which is known to have no connection with the lachrymal ducts.

(1) Published Letters, p. 63.

In the year 1690 she had a new cause for tears, in the death of her last remaining sister, Lady Montagu, and of her nephew, Lord Gainsborough, within a few weeks of each other. Of the one she says: "After forty years' acquaintance with so amiable a creature, one "must needs, in reflecting, bring to remembrance so many engaging "endearments as are yet, at present, embittering and painful." Of the other, that "he was the only son of a sister and friend I loved "with too much passion." And she owns to Dr. Fitzwilliam that he conjectures truly as to the state of her mind: "Every new stroke to "a weary and battered carcase, makes me struggle the harder; and "though I lost, with my best friend, all the delights of living, yet I "find I did not a quick sense of new grief. (1)

The return of Lord Cavendish from abroad, in the autumn of this year, separated her from her eldest daughter. During his absence, Lady Cavendish had continued living with her mother and sisters; she was now established with her husband in the house of his father.

Lady Russell's attention to every minute particular relative to her children, is marked by a letter which she addresses at this time to Lady Derby, the mistress of the robes to Queen Mary, recommending to her protection, and to her advice, the young Lady Cavendish, now frequenting Court by the particular desire (as it would seem) of the Queen, and separated, for the first time, from "too fond a mother." (2)

In the following year (1692) we find Lady Russell's younger daughter, Katherine, expressing herself with great anxiety to her sister, Lady Cavendish, about their mother's increasing blindness: "Indeed it is very sad to think how much she has lost her eye-sight "in as little a time as three weeks or a month. She uses nothing to "them, which makes me more impatient to hear from the doctor; "though I do extremely fear he can do her no good, as she does "think herself." (3) Soon after, she herself tells Dr. Fitzwilliam that she is "resolved to be strict in observing the directions I am under

(1) Published Letters, p. 295.
(2) See Published Letters, p. 295.
(3) Dev. MSS.

" for my bad eyes, which I am not sensible I hurt by what I *can* do,
" which is writing. As for reading, I am past that contentment,
" especially print. Your hand is plain, and so well known to me, I
" make a shift to see it."

Her bodily ills, and the cruel prospect of blindness, she seems to have supported with the same patient magnanimity, and to have allowed them to interfere almost as little with her duties as she had done the sufferings of her mind. " While I can see at all, I must do
" a little more than I can when God sees it best that outward dark-
" ness shall fall upon me, which will deprive me of all society at a
" distance (1), which I esteem exceeding profitable and pleasant."

She was now occupied in settling the marriage of her younger daughter with Lord Roos, the eldest son of the Earl of Rutland. This, although she herself calls it " the best match in England," from her ignorance of the young man's character, and from some peculiar circumstances relative to his birth and rights of inheritance, she had paused in accepting. John Lord Roos, his father, afterwards Earl and Duke of Rutland, had been divorced by act of parliament, in 1670, from his first wife (2); and two sons by that marriage disabled by the same act of parliament from succeeding to his honours and estates, himself having permission to marry again.

This divorce bill had caused great debates in Parliament, and had become, at the time, almost a party question. It had been forwarded by all the Protestant interest, and the opposers of the Duke of York, as an encouragement and example for the King to attempt a divorce from Catherine of Portugal. (3)

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(1) She means corresponding with absent friends.

(2) The Lady Anne Pierpont, daughter of Henry Marquis of Dorchester.

(3) " When there was a project in 1669 for getting a divorce for the King to facilitate
" it, there was brought into the House of Lords a bill for dissolving the marriage of
" Lord Rosse (*Roos*), on account of adultery, and to give him leave to marry again.
" This bill, after great debates, passed by the plurality of only two votes, and that by the
" great industry of the Lord's friends, as well as the Duke's enemies, who carried it on
" chiefly in hopes it might be a precedent and inducement for the King to enter the more

Under these circumstances, Lady Russell tells Dr. Fitzwilliam: — "I do own, when it was first proposed, I was, as it were, surprised; "but when I came to consider seriously, and discourse with friends, "and also with such others as I could then get to talk with, and "found reason to conclude that a reverse of Parliament was all the "scruple I need have, I was content to hear more of it, and not re- "fuse the best match in England for an imaginary religious scruple."

* * * * * * * * "But if a divorce "is lawful, as agreeing with the word of God, I take a marriage after "it certainly to be so. And as for the estate, as we enjoy that by "man's law, and that man can alter, and so may alter again, which "is a risk I am willing to run, if there should be enough left." (1)

Having been confirmed in these sentiments, and having allowed time both for herself and her daughter to become acquainted with their future son-in-law and husband, the marriage took place in the summer of the following year. We have, in the volume of Letters already published, an entertaining account of all the honours which accompanied the journey of Lord and Lady Roos, and the ceremonies of their arrival at Belvoir; ceremonies, perhaps, "more honoured in the breach than in the observance," which then took place at weddings even in the highest life. (2)

Lady Russell had excused herself going to Belvoir with all the rest of the wedding company, but followed them thither, before, as she says, she had acquitted herself of all her formal congratulations; "for "if I do more than a very little at a time, I find my eyes ache, and "that I am sure is naught; and a very little sight is too precious a "good to be neglected."

"easily into their late proposals; nor were they a little encouraged therein, when they saw "the King countenance and drive on the bill in Lord Rosse's favour. Of eighteen bishops "that were in the House, only two voted for the bill, of which one voted through age, and "one was reputed a Socinian." — See Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 361.

(1) Published Letters, p. 305.

(2) See a letter of Sir James Forbes to Lady Russell, Published Letters, p. 312.

From Belvoir she writes: — "Heretofore, whatever engagements I "had a-days, the nights were free to me; but my ill eyes can now not "serve me at all when once a candle is lighted, so that since Lord "Rutland came hither I have been mistress of no time; if I had, I "should not have lived in a continual noise and hurry as I have "done." (1)

Still, however, with her usual pious gratitude to Heaven, she rejoices in the goodness of God, who, when she feared the utter loss of sight, had let her "thus long see the light, and given" her "time to prepare for the bodily darkness that must overtake" her.

Happily the operation of couching for a cataract was already known, and practised in England. It was successfully performed on Lady Russell's eye in the following June. Her hand-writing after this period testifies how much her sight and power of employing it were improved. It was a considerable time, however, before she ventured to write much with her own hand. In a letter of the 13th August, 1695, in the first part of which she had made use of an amanuensis, she says, "I venture to write thus much with my first eye; my new "one does not yet alter much, though I think I do feel better than "at first; but there is something still before it." (2)

The same year in which Lady Russell obtained this relief from the dreadful infirmity with which she was menaced, the Houses of Russell and Cavendish received an accession of honours which few families have acquired by more essential services to their country. The Earls of Bedford and Devonshire were, in April, advanced to the dignity of Dukes.

The reasons assigned, in the preambles of their patents, for conferring these titles, honour at once the sovereign and the subjects. (3)

In that of the Duke of Bedford, particular mention is made of his son Lord Russell. The King, in bestowing the highest dignity in his

(1) Published Letters, p. 316. (2) Bedford MSS.

(3) The preamble to the Duke of Devonshire's patent was penned by Lord Somers.

gift, declares, "We think it not sufficient that his (*Lord Russell's*) "conduct and virtues should be transmitted to all future generations "upon the credit of public annals, but will have them inserted in "these our royal letters patent, as a monument consecrated to the most "accomplished and consummate virtue in the said family, &c. &c. "Now, then, to comfort one of the best of fathers for so unspeakable "a loss, to solemnise the memory of that most excellent son, "and to excite the emulation of a worthy grandchild, born to so "great hopes; that he may with more vigour tread in the steps of "his truly great father, we do give our command for these marks of "honour," &c. &c. &c.

Although Lady Russell had professed, on a previous occasion of distinction to the Russell family, "I would have assisted to my "power for the procuring thereof, but for any sensible joy at these "outward things I feel none:" still this honourable memorial of all she had lost in a husband, and all she hoped for in a son, could not be viewed by her with indifference.

The lenient influence of eleven years had now soothed the acuteness of her sorrows. She had seen the government which had oppressed her, proscribed—the power which she had found implacable, fallen in the dust:—the religion whose political predominance she dreaded, in circumstances to require that toleration which it was believed unwilling to allow:—the man whose vindictive spirit had inflicted the great misfortune of her life, himself an exile, after having ineffectually implored assistance from the father of him whom he had persecuted. (1) She had seen the triumph of those principles for which her beloved Lord had suffered, the immense effects produced by a steady adherence to them, and his name now for ever coupled with the honour and the freedom of his country.

(1) The application said to have been made by James to the Earl of Bedford, after the landing of the Prince of Orange, for his assistance and interest in the country, and the affecting reply of the old Earl, recalling the loss of his son, are well known.

The sober age of Lady Russell forbad her feeling these circumstances as she would have done in earlier life, when the partner of all her joys and sorrows might have shared them with her.

We must suppose her, too, often recurring, even now, with anguish to the idea of his life having been sacrificed so near the overthrow of that power which he had so honourably combatted, and often to have indulged in (what she herself called) "unprofitable thoughts," as to the distinguished part that he *might* have acted in the great Revolution which so soon followed his death, and in which he *might* have been a leader, instead of a martyr, to the liberty he loved.

In private life, too, she had had repeated occasions to experience the interest her conduct and character had inspired to all that approached her. Neither the humility of her truly Christian mind, nor the unfading sense she still entertained of her irreparable loss, could prevent her receiving rational consolation from the consciousness of having deserved, as well as obtained, such sentiments. Her heart was neither enfeebled by age, nor deadened by suffering. At a much more advanced period of life, we see in a letter to her cousin Lord Galway, how alive she even then was, at the age of 76, to the opinions, the feelings, the affection of her friends, to honest praise, and to the luxury of loving and being beloved. (1)

She had now the satisfaction of having married both her daughters into the most distinguished families of their country; and she found her alliance so eagerly sought, that before her son was 13 years old, she received (according to the custom of those days) a proposal from Sir Josiah Child, for marrying him to Sir Josiah's grand-daughter, the Lady Henrietta Somerset, daughter of Charles Marquis of Worcester. (2) The proposal was made in a letter to

(1) See Published Letters, p. 338.

(2) The Marquis of Worcester had married Rebecca Child, daughter and heiress of Sir Josiah, — of whom Burnet gives the following character: — "This summer Sir "Josiah Child died; he was a man of great notions as to merchandise, which was his "education, and in which he succeeded beyond any man of his time: he applied himself

Mr. Howe, (the dissenting clergyman already mentioned,) to be communicated to Lady Russell. By a second letter to the same person, we see that Lady Russell had by no means received the proposal as Sir Josiah thought it merited. He tells Mr. Howe, — "I received your favour of the 22d inst., and your letter of the 28th; "the answer intimated in your first was so cold, that I concluded the "noble Lady either understood not the considerableness of the "proposal, or had predetermined the disposal of her son some "other way, and did expect to hear no more of it: the rather I "thought so, from that expression in your letter, that the young "Lord was in the course of his education, which I never knew to be "a bar to parents discoursing of the matching of their children, "which are born to extraordinary great fortunes; and that being the "case of the noble young Lord, as well as of my grand-daughter, "made me the forwarder without her mother's privacy to write that "letter to you, that so great a fortune as God's providence has cast "upon her, might fall into the best and most pious noble family I "know, for such I esteem my Lord Bedford's to be." (1)

Either this great fortune did not tempt Lady Russell, or she thought her son as yet too young to enter into such distant engagements for him; or she had already in view the marriage which two years afterwards he contracted with Miss Howland, the only daughter and heiress of John Howland, Esq., of Streatham in Surrey, by another daughter of Sir Josiah Child's. (2)

As soon as she had fixed on the future companion of her son, she entered with all the good sense and attention that belonged to her

"chiefly to the East-India trade, which by his management was raised so high, that it "drew much envy and jealousy both upon himself and upon the country: he had a "compass of knowledge and apprehension beyond any merchant I ever knew: he was "vain and covetous, and thought too cunning, though to me he seemed always sincere," Burnet's Hist. vol. iv. p. 328.

(1) Dev. MSS.

(2) The ceremony of marriage took place in May, 1695; and in compliment to the large succession to which Miss Howland was entitled, Lord Tavistock was immediately afterwards created Baron Howland of Streatham.

character into the details of the young lady's education, and maintained an intimate and frequent correspondence with her mother, Mrs. Howland. In the following letter, written about a twelvemonth after the marriage, Lady Russell appears as rationally anxious for the health, improvement, and accomplishments of her daughter-in-law, as she could have been for that of her own children. She tells Mrs. Howland, — "I am too much concerned at Lady Tavistock's com- "plaints, (though ever so small,) to pass in silence the first oppor- "tunity after your report, to know how she is; though what I said "yesterday was confused from haste, the waggon having gone by, "yet I believe I cannot alter the substance of it." * * * * * * "It is possible the air and some change in "the method of living may contribute to this little disorder, but if it "has, it is not to be repented; for it is what must happen at one time "or other, and the younger the better it is to be accustomed to a "variety of living, that in all likelihood must happen, and I hope "agree with her. However, I guess you are eager to try Streatham "air, and regular way there, which makes you set your time to "remove so soon. If my house has been to your satisfaction (1), I "am sure it is to mine that you have used it to yours and your "daughter's, who, Lady Margaret tells me, has most apparently "profited by Mr. Huck, which I really rejoice much at; though I "confess fashion, and those other accomplishments that are perhaps "over-rated by the world, and that I esteem but as dross, and as a "shadow in comparison of religion and virtue, yet the perfections of "nature are ornaments to the body, as grace is to the mind, and I "wish, and do more than that, for I pray constantly, she may be a "perfect creature both in mind and body; that is, in the manner we "can reach perfection in this world." (2)

The marriage had not taken place many months, and the young

(1) Lady Russell writes from Stratton: Mrs. Howland and her daughter had occupied Southampton House during their residence in London.

(2) Bedford MSS.

Lord Tavistock was still under the tuition of a private tutor, preparing to be sent to Oxford, when Lady Russell received a proposal of another nature for him, which it must have required her sound judgment, and the just estimation which she seems on all occasions to have made of worldly distinctions, to have rejected.

At the general election which took place in October, 1695, it was proposed to her in the most flattering manner, by order of the Duke of Shrewsbury, then Lord Steward, and the Lord Keeper Somers, to bring her son into Parliament, as member for the county of Middlesex. This arrangement was first communicated to her in the following letter from Sir James Forbes. (1)

" London, October 3d.

" I can safely retract, Madam, what I said in my last letter, that " our courtiers did not trouble themselves with much business, but " now I find we are all of a sudden grown extraordinary busy in " making interest every where to bring in good men to our new " Parliament, and this reason alone has moved our Lords Justices (2) " (I mean the two principal, my Lord Keeper (3), and the Duke of " Shrewsbury) to send for me, and to order me to write immediately " to your Ladyship, that you would be pleased to let my Lord Tavistock " stand for knight of the shire for Middlesex; and although I made " all the objections against it, that I think the Duke of Bedford or " your Ladyship can make, yet they were still of one opinion, that it is

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(1) In the volume of Published Letters, Sir James Forbes is called, in a note to his letter addressed to Lady Russell, "The gentleman by whom Lord Cavendish sent his offers of assistance to Lord Russell after his condemnation." He was one of the persons afterwards examined in 1689, before the committee of the House of Commons, for "the Inspection," &c. &c. of the trials of those who had suffered for the Rye-House plot. His examination proves, how much he was at that time in the intimacy of the Duke of Monmouth, and those with whom he associated. See Howell's State Trials, vol. ix. p. 961.

(2) King William was now in Holland.

(3) Lord Somers.

" your interest, and for the honour of the family, that he should stand " at present; and, being joined with Sir John Worsename (1), a very " honest man, who is recommended by my Lord Keeper, they doubt " not but they will carry it with a high hand, and thereby keep out " two notorious Tories, which can never be done otherwise. When I " told their Lordships that my Lord Tavistock was soon going to " Cambridge, and afterwards to travel for two or three years, the " Duke of Shrewsbury answered, that they would not hinder any " thing of that design; for he needed not to appear but once at the " election, when he would be attended by several thousands of " gentlemen, and other persons on horseback out of town, and the " charges would be but little or nothing; and the Duke of Shrews- " bury bid me tell your Ladyship, that if you did consent he should " stand, which he doubted not but you would, since it was on so " good an account, that then they must have leave to set him up for " that day only, by the name of Lord Russell, which would bring ten " thousand more on his side, if there be so many freeholders in the " county.

" I have now, Madam, delivered my message from those two great " Lords; which they had a great concern for, and seemed very earnest " to have it complied with: therefore I think it would be very imper- " tinent in me to use any arguments of my own, but must leave it to " the consideration of the Duke of Bedford, and your Ladyship's wise " judgment to determine: however, I beg your Ladyship will be pleased " to make as speedy an answer as it is possible, because we expect " the King here by Sunday, or Monday next; and immediately the " Parliament will be dissolved, and all hands will be set on work for " a new one, as I hear the expression in the King's letters to the " Lords is.

" I suppose this post brings a great deal of joy to Lady Margaret; " for the Spanish letters that are come to-day, make mention that the

(1) Sir John Wolstonholme, who was returned with Lord Edward Russell.

" Admiral (1) is upon his way home, and Mr. Priestman tells me that " he will be here within these ten days; and Sir George Rook has " orders from the King by this last post from Flanders, to set sail for " the Straits immediately. I shall add no more but the assurance of " my being,

" Madam,

" Your Ladyship's most faithful and obedient Servant,

" J. FORBES." (2)

In this letter every circumstance is brought forward, that could tempt Lady Russell to concur in the opinion of persons she so much respected, expressed in so flattering a manner. The permission requested to dispense for a day with the newly-acquired title of Marquis of Tavistock, and in proposing her son to represent his county, to call him by the honoured name of *Lord Russell*, was probably intended as much to secure his mother's consent, as the young man's election. But Lady Russell's sound sense and steady judgment immediately saw in the premature entry of her son, yet a boy, into public life, the probable ruin both of his future character and happiness. With a diffidence of her own opinion, which is not one of the least admirable features of her character, before she decidedly replied to Sir James Forbes's proposal, she addressed the following letter from Woborn, where she then was, to Lord Edward Russell, her brother-in-law, in London: —

" Friday's post brought me the enclosed paper. Pray, my Lord, " will you take the pains to read it; and then, if you do not know it " will be impertinent, I entreat you to wait on the Duke of Shrews- " bury, to whose judgment I have so great a deference, that if I could " imagine he was as much in earnest, and is so still, on the subject-

(1) Admiral Russell, afterwards created Earl of Orford, to whom Lady Margaret, his cousin, was married.

(2) Dev. MSS.

" matter of Sir James's letter, as my good friend takes him to be, " it would make me doubtful of the weight of my own reason " against it, and I believe would have the same effect upon your " father, who at present knows nothing of Sir James's letter, " nor what I am now doing; and if you remember how averse " he expressed himself, but a few days ago, upon the reading " of a letter I had received with the same advice, you will guess " that nothing less than the authority of his Grace's constant " opinion can change Lord Bedford's, which is grounded on " the apprehensions that such an interruption as being elected a " parliament-man would make in his education, might undo him for " the time to come, to all intents and purposes; and really I am so " much of that mind as to fear the mischief would be past retrieving: " however, as I am very jealous to do every thing I think best for my " son, so I am too in my submission to persons so much wiser than " myself, who wish well to us. I beg of you not to forget to give " me a line or two by the next post; for, till then, good Sir James is " kept in suspense by

" Your affectionate and humble servant."

Before the receipt of this letter, Lord Edward had already written to Lady Russell, confirming Sir James Forbes's statement. He tells her, " I am informed by persons of the best credit, Madam, that if " my Lord Tavistock will but appear on Wednesday at the sessions, " all the gentlemen are so inclined to choose him for the county, " that there will be no sort of danger or difficulty in it; and it is " believed that nobody will pretend to stand against him."

The Duke of Bedford had also received a letter from Mr. Charles Montagu (1), strongly recommending the same measure, as being highly honourable to the Russell family, and useful to the Whig interest. To all this importunity Lady Russell replies in the following steady but considerate manner, throwing her final refusal on the

(1) Created, in 1700, Earl of Halifax. He was now a Lord of the Treasury.

letter she was to receive from Lord Edward, after he had spoken to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

"The errand of this paper is no more than to tell my brother "Ned I have received his letter, and that Lord Bedford had also "one from Mr. Montagu to make the same motion that the Knight "did; but all answers are deferred till we receive another from you: "in the mean time I must express myself thus far, that upon the "whole matter, it is clear to me that my Lord Shrewsbury had no "original thought in this business; nor, I verily believe, any further "approbation than through compliment to his friends; I believe it, "because I do not see that there is reason for more: therefore, it is "my opinion now, and I fancy will be so after your next letter, that "my Lord Duke [*and myself* (1)] should be positive, not to venture "being baffled in a business that, if he carries, may be destruction "to his grandson; and sure, if there were no other objection, it is "very late for two persons of uncertain interests to set up against "two that know theirs, and no doubt have been effectually labouring "in it." (2)

It is to be remarked that in those early days of our renovated constitution, the objection of Lord Tavistock's age was considered merely in relation to himself, and as no obstacle to the success of his election. Mr. Montagu, in his letter to the Duke of Bedford, to obviate any scruple in the Duke's mind, mentions that Lord Godolphin's son was to be chosen in Cornwall, and Lord Leicester's in Kent, who were neither of them older than Lord Tavistock; and Mr. Owen, in a letter to Lady Russell, tells her the Duke of Albemarle's son had been allowed to sit in Parliament under age.

In these more scrupulous times, when we are no less attached to the letter than to the spirit of our constitution, no one would venture to nominate a youth of fifteen (whatever his birth or pretensions) for a seat in Parliament; and in a severely-contested election, no one would

(1) A line is drawn through these two words in the MS. (2) Dev. MSS.

desire a better objection to his opponent, than the power of proving him under age.

Having thus got rid of a proposal, upon which Lady Russell so wisely decided, Lord Tavistock was sent, in the January of the ensuing year, to the university of Oxford, where Lady Russell thought "our nobility should pass some of their time. It has been "for many years neglected. I use that term, because I think it a "proper one." (1)

During his residence in college there are several letters still extant from the Bishop of Oxford to Lady Russell, giving her such an account of Lord Tavistock's good behaviour, parts, and success, as prove more certainly the good Bishop's disposition to flattery (2), than the young Lord's to learning; and so it would seem thought his right-headed mother: for in a letter addressed to her by Mr. Hicks, her son's private tutor, during the vacation of September 1696, we find how closely she had enquired, and how anxious she was not to be deceived, as to the real progress and disposition of her son; warning his tutor of his want of steadiness and application. Mr. Hicks tells her, — "I charged my dear Lord this morning with great pro- "mises and small performances, and might have quoted your Lady- "ship's longer knowledge of him for undoubted authority; but his "Lordship stands to it that he will do great matters, and study very "hard at Woborn; and that otherwise he shall not know how to "spend his time there. But, upon your Ladyship's suggestion, I "shall be moderate in my expectations, and look for nothing but a "full blush, and some soft words in excuse for non-performance of "promise. Hitherto, Madam, I have had no reason to complain of "want of application; but when I shall have, (which I trust God will "prevent,) your Ladyship will find that I can open my mouth as

(1) Published Letters, p. 309.

(2) As it was from "*Hough's unsullied mitre*" that these accounts came, we must suppose he believed what he advanced.

" wide, and as loud, as any body; but I cannot accuse falsely, or " magnify molehills into mountains." (1)

During Lord Tavistock's stay at Oxford, his mother had occasionally taken up her residence there; thus maintaining the footing of confidential friendship and entire intimacy, on which she ever continued with her son.

After remaining nearly a year at the university, Lord Tavistock was, at the age of seventeen, sent abroad to travel. His grandfather, now advanced in years, felt much reluctance at the idea of parting with him for so long a time as Lady Russell was willing to submit to herself, convinced, as she was, that " to live well in the world, it is, for " certain, necessary to know the world well." (2)

The following letter from the Duke of Bedford shows that she had not only her own anxieties, but his wishes, to combat, in keeping her son for two years on the continent. Thus allowing him the opportunity of seeing such a variety of manners, of modes of society, and of government, — of national peculiarities, virtues, and prejudices, as is especially necessary to form the character of an accomplished English gentleman. A character which superadds to such a previous education, as, in other countries, is rarely given even to those intended for learned professions; manners which belong to the really well-bred of all countries, and an enlightened love for his own, founded on a knowledge, not an ignorance, of the rest of the world.

The letter from the Duke of Bedford is as follows: —

" Woborn Abbey, October 16th, 1697.

" Dear Daughter,

" These are to let you know, that their bearer, Mr. Hicks, came on " Wednesday hither, in expectation of meeting master (*Lord Tavi-* " *stock*) here; and how well pleased I was with his company and con- " versation; looking upon him to be as deserving a person as you

(1) Dev. MSS. (2) Published Letters, p. 178.

"could have made choice of, to go abroad with my dear grand-child. "In confidence not only of his great kindness to him, but also of his "utmost care and diligence for his best improvement, I have laid "strict injunctions upon him, to follow his advice in all things that "concern his soul and body. My Lord Rosse (*Roos*) and he came "hither on Friday night, after long expectation; and I am glad to "see him look so very well of it. They intend to be with you on "Monday night, God willing.

"I must confess it is a very great trial for me to part with one so "dear to me as he is. But I hope God Almighty will hear your "hearty prayers and mine, and those of his other friends, by watch-"ing over him abroad, and with his good hand of Providence, that "you and all of his relations may have the comfort of seeing him "again. If God give me life till his return, it will add much to the "joy of it, though I dare not promise myself that mercy, considering "my declining age and infirmities.

"I do reckon you will send him to the Hague this winter, for his "improvement in his exercises; and if things be quiet in France, "that he may go thither for some time, to his farther improvement "and satisfaction: after which, to return home to the comfort of "you and his friends. As for his travelling into Italy, I am much "against it, for several reasons. I hope you will not let him stay "very long abroad.

"So, with my constant and fervent prayers to God Almighty for "him and yourself, with your other dear relations, I rest, (not without "some sadness at parting,)

"Your most affectionate Father and Friend, to my last moment,

"Bedford."

Lord Tavistock left England soon after the date of this letter, accompanied by Mr. Hicks. To him was associated a Mr. Fazio, whom, for some reason not connected with any complaint of his pupil's, Lady Russell recalled from Hamburgh, whither they had gone after leaving the Hague. At the Hague, Lord Tavistock had seen

and was presented to King William, who was then about to return to England, after signing the peace of Ryswick.

At Hamburgh, Lord Tavistock was joined by Mr. Sherard, a gentleman who had before accompanied Lord Townsend on his travels. Mr. Hicks was (as much as circumstances would permit) to pursue with Lord Tavistock his classical studies, and to watch over his religious sentiments and duties. The number of defaulters from the purity of our Protestant faith produced by the time-serving politics of the two last reigns, had appeared to arm the Roman Catholic religion with seductions, which we have some difficulty in comprehending in these altered times.

Mr. Sherard's business was with his pupil's temporal affairs, and his conduct in the world, where his mother was anxious he should appear with every advantage that could arise to a young traveller, both from his own distinguished birth, and her foreign connections. He was provided, by the younger Ruvigny (Lord Galway), with letters to all the principal diplomatic and military characters in the different courts of Europe, and was every where received with particular attentions.

His numerous letters to his mother, during an absence of two years, give a very favourable opinion of the young man's predilection for good company; of his desire to inform himself, and to profit by foreign society; and above all, of his affection, deference, and unlimited confidence in his mother. It was not to be expected that so young a traveller should preserve the letters addressed to himself, when moving about from place to place; which leaves us to regret the loss of those of Lady Russell. If they were as appropriate to the circumstances, and as much to the purpose, as the letter addressed to him at a later period, on a religious life, and preserved in the following collection, the loss is considerable.

It would seem that she had some suspicion, before Lord Tavistock left England, that he had an inclination to play; for, in a letter of his, from the Hague, he tells her:—"I beg your Ladyship that you

" will not trouble yourself about my loving play: for I do assure " your Ladyship (1) I think losing much at play is so foolish a thing " as makes one be laughed at so much, that I am certain I shall never " be guilty of it." We shall see that his youthful confidence on this subject was not justified by his subsequent conduct, while abroad.

After visiting Berlin, and some of the smaller German courts, in the spring, 1698, he and his two companions arrived at Rome in the following summer. To Rome he had carried letters to Cardinal Ottoboni (the nephew of the preceding Pope, Alexander VIII.), and to several other persons of distinction, at the Papal court of Innocent XII. (Pignatelli), who, from his enmity to Lewis XIV. was supposed not to have been averse to the conduct of those who had favoured the English Revolution. The young man writes from Rome, to his cousin, Admiral Russell, (then Earl of Orford,) that " Cardinal Ottoboni is a mighty lover of the English nation, and " particularly an admirer of the King (*William*). A great reason " why I am received so at this place is, by having the honour of " being related to your Lordship, who is as well known here by the " name of Admiral Russell as in England." (2)

Admitted into the best foreign society at Rome, Lord Tavistock talks, with much enjoyment, of the amusements of which he partakes there, during the summer, 1698:—" The great pleasure now is, to be " in one of the open caleches, going about the town in the moon- " shiny nights. There are always some fine serenades, and all the " best company in town, taking the air, till an hour or two after mid- " night. I seldom fail of this diversion; and, indeed, it is mighty

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(1) No inference is to be drawn from the frequently-repeated title of Ladyship or Lordship, of the intimacy subsisting between the persons who so used them. By the fashion of the time, they were not dispensed with, in the intercourse of the dearest and most intimate relations of life. The Editor has seen letters of a later date, between betrothed lovers, beginning, " *My dear Angel;*" which *angel* is addressed by the title of *Your Ladyship*, half a dozen times in the same letter.

(2) Dev. MSS.

"pleasant, after the heat of the day, to be abroad so, most part of "the night, and to hear music, and to go talk to any body that one "is acquainted with, with all the freedom in the world." (1)

He continued so much pleased with this residence, and his way of life, that, after a short visit to Naples, in the autumn, he returned, to pass the whole winter and carnival at Rome.

He now gave, as well as received, entertainments, from all the foreign Ministers, and principal Roman nobility. The expense entailed by this mode of living, even in those days, was such as might have startled a less liberal mother than Lady Russell. In a letter from Mr. Sherard to her, he hopes their expenses at Rome will not exceed three thousand pounds a-year, — a large travelling allowance, even now, to a youth of seventeen. Some costly articles of dress, indeed, would not enter into a modern account; such as, "two point "cravattes," "a very rich laced suit," and "a long perriwig, sent "from Leghorn, none being to be found here."

He goes on to say, "His Lordship will also have a barouche, and "a pair of horses, to drive himself about the country; and he must "have a couple of running footmen with it, which must be clothed. "The latter end of next month we shall go to Frescati, twelve miles "from hence, where, and at the places adjacent, will be all the best "company of Rome. After a month's stay there, and at Albano, "with Cardinal Ottoboni, his Lordship designs for Naples, where he "will not stay above a week, and so return hither, where I hope "he will spend the carnival."

* * *

"I find he does not care being denied any thing that he has a "fancy to; but what he lays out, beside necessary expenses, will be "of some use, or diversion at least, to him in England, as music, "prints, designs, books, essences, &c. which are usually bought "here." (2)

(1) Devonshire MSS. (2) Ibid.

It would have been well if his pupil had been contented with these purchases; but finding Mr. Sherard averse to others more costly, and not always willing to comply with his demands for money, he was tempted to make some expensive presents, the price and payment for which he concealed from Mr. Sherard. He chose rather to trust to the indulgence of his mother, than to that of his governor; and drew a bill directly on Lady Russell for 200*l.* sterling, beseeching her not to disgrace him by protesting it, nor to expose him to Mr. Sherard.

He writes, on this occasion, a letter of deep contrition to Lady Russell, which proves all the confidence as well as the profound respect and attachment with which she had inspired her children. He assures her he will never again make a present, or take a farthing of money, but from Mr. Sherard. "I desire, for God's sake, that you "will pardon me. If your Ladyship did but know a little part of "the grief I suffer, I am sure you would forgive me; and if I did "not think you would, I could not bear it."

After owning that they were living at a great expense, he tells her, with the reasoning of a very young man, — "But then it is certain "that the honours I have received here are so very extraordinary, "that the expense could not be less. It is undoubtedly much for "the honour of my family: as for myself I think I deserve nothing, "since I am capable of afflicting your Ladyship."

"If you did but know my thoughts, and half the trouble that I am "in, I am certain your Ladyship would grant what I desire, and hope "well for the future. I will yet come home to be a comfort to your "Ladyship, and make you easy; and so follow, in some things, I hope "at least, the steps of my good father."

After having been relieved from this embarrassment, we find him again confessing, "with the greatest sorrow imaginable, that I have "done ill. I had the unhappiness some time ago to play for some-"thing more than I used to do, and lose." (1)

(1) Dev. MSS.

But of the extent of his losses at play, and the little reliance that could be placed upon his resolutions against it, Lady Russell was not aware till his return to England, towards the end of the year 1699; when she found the amount so considerable as to oblige her to address herself to his grandfather to assist her as a security in raising money. The letter to the Duke of Bedford, making this proposal, will be found in the following collection. The considerate manner in which she there addresses the old man, and in which she speaks of the errors of the young, is a sufficient reason for the affectionate confidence placed in her by both.

Within a year after Lord Tavistock's return to England, he succeeded to the title and estates of his grandfather. An application made by Lady Russell herself, in a letter to King William (1), to obtain the garter for her son, was successful. He was appointed, as soon as he was of age, to the lieutenancies of the three counties of Bedford, Middlesex, and Cambridge, which had been held by his grandfather. At the coronation of Queen Anne, he acted as Lord High Constable of England, and was named a Privy Councillor.

Lady Russell now saw her son established in all the honours of his race, with a wife, who seems to have justified the choice she had made for him, and by whom he was the happy father of several children. It might have been hoped that the sorrows of Lady Russell were now over; that the severe afflictions of her former life might, according to the common allotments of good and evil, have exempted her from the grief of other premature losses before the end of her career; the rather as her children, being those of a second marriage, made the difference of age between them and herself considerable; but she was doomed yet to suffer in those affections to which she was peculiarly alive. Her son, whose health as a child, whose education as a youth, and whose success as a man, she had watched over with such unwearied and rational attention; on whom she had concentrated all

(1) The letter will be found in the following collection.

that she felt for the last representative of her own family, as well as for that of her still-lamented lord; in the midst of health, and the vigour of life, was seized with the small-pox.

The small-pox was at this time, and during the beginning of the eighteenth century, a plague, which deserved that appellation almost as much as the disease to which it has been appropriated. (1) Beauty and youth saddened at its sound. Parents fled with their children from its approach, and often were obliged to fly from their children for fear of themselves falling a sacrifice, and abandoning those that might survive. It separated the nearest and dearest relatives in circumstances when they are peculiarly necessary to each other. It was a danger for ever present, for ever suggesting vexatious precautions, in the vain hope to avoid; and when encountered, creating a despair which helped on the disease. The upper orders of society were as much exposed to its ravages as the lower. Indeed the mistaken manner in which it was treated by the physicians, left those persons the best chance who were least the objects of their care. (2)

This evil has now been so long removed from us, as not to allow sufficient justice to be done, or sufficient gratitude felt, for the two great discoveries, the first of which subdued, and the second has almost annihilated, this scourge of human nature in social life.

Neither inoculation, nor the vaccine, had been heard of in the times of which we are speaking. The Duke of Bedford caught the small-pox naturally, and fell a sacrifice to it before the age of thirty-one.

As soon as the disorder had declared itself, his wife (3) and children were obliged to fly from him. At his death-bed we find only his mother, receiving his last words, soothing his last moments, and pointing his last thoughts to that heaven, which she was again

(1) In some of the eastern counties, and particularly Essex, they had, till very lately, *pest-houses*, at a small distance from the villages, for the reception of small-pox patients.

(2) Of the members of the Royal Family who returned to England at the Restoration, three died of the small-pox within the first year, and it is well known that Queen Mary and Queen Anne's son, both died of the same disease.

(3) She died of the same disease, in 1724.

to prove gives means of support in present, and of consolation in future, for all misfortunes, however severe or repeated, to which we have not ourselves contributed.

How deeply she felt the death of her son, a letter to Lord Galway, mentioning the particulars of his last moments, gives us an affecting picture (1): — "Alas! my dear Lord Galway, my thoughts are yet all "disorder, confusion, and amazement; and I think I am incapable "of saying or doing any thing I should. I did not know the great- "ness of my love to his person till I could see it no more."

From this loss she could hardly have recovered the composure which her unfeigned piety, and submission to the will of Heaven, could alone produce, when, in the November following, her younger daughter, the Duchess of Rutland, after having been the mother of nine children, died in childbed.

Of her death Lady Russell has left us no particulars. We only know, that as her eldest daughter, the Duchess of Devonshire, was at the time laying-in, Lady Russell had the resolution to conceal from her, her sister's death at the moment when it happened; and to prevent her from hearing it suddenly, avoided the too particular enquiries of the Duchess of Devonshire, by saying that she had that day "seen her sister out of bed," when in fact she had seen her in her coffin!

Yet this daughter she tenderly loved, and she had possessed her entire confidence and friendship. A letter from her to her mother during Lord Tavistock's absence in Italy, shows, that while Lady Russell's children were much attached to each other, they all equally placed their confidence in her. Lady Roos had fancied, by a letter from her brother at Rome, that he was likely to get into some difficulty or quarrel, about a lady of the society in which he was living there. She immediately communicates her fears to her mother; although, as she says, her brother "used to laugh "at my foreseeing dangers where there were none, and I hope "this is the case now, which your Ladyship will be the best

(1) Published Letters, p. 330.

" able to judge of; so that though he charged me to tell nobody " what he writ, and I am sure I should most heartily fear angering " him, yet I cannot forbear naming it to your Ladyship, and hope " for that, he would not blame me if he knew it." (1)

Whether Lady Russell thought it necessary to take any notice of this warning we know not, but the fears of his anxious sister either prevented the evil, or were superfluous, for nothing ensued from the circumstances to which she alluded.

Within a very few months after the death of Lady Russell's daughter, the Duke of Rutland determined on marrying again. The respect and affection with which Lady Russell inspired every one connected with her, made her son-in-law, the Duke of Rutland, feel considerable uneasiness in communicating to her this intention, lest, as she says, she should " take offence at some circumstances, " the censorious part of the town will be sure to do, and refine upon " for the sake of talk." But finding that he had " first taken care " to be truly informed what powers he had to do for his children, " and then by the strictest rules of justice and impartial kindness, " settled every younger child's portion by adding to it * * " * * * and that he was under all the anxieties a man could " feel, how to break it to me; though it was then but a thought of his " own, yet so much he would not conceal from me. Mr. Charlton " undertook to tell me, and I did as soon resolve to let it pass as easy " between him and me as I could, by bidding Mr. Charlton let him " know I would begin to him. I did so, which put us both in some " disorder, but I believe he took, as I meant it, kindly." (2)

To be thus indulgent to the wishes, the feelings, the passions of others, while so strict in the government of her own, is a part of Lady Russell's character, which may serve as a model to thousands of her sex, not placed in circumstances to copy her in other excellences.

She was now arrived at a very advanced age, and had no longer any immediate duties to call forth the energies, or to animate the

(1) Dev. MSS.

(2) Published Letters, p. 333.

feelings of her mind. Yet we find her still maintaining a commerce of active friendship with her old friends, and an interest in the affairs of the world, by her constant and affectionate intercourse with her daughter, her grandchildren, and her nieces. With their success, their sorrows, and their happiness, she was still occupied; she was still applied to in moments of difficulty by all who might pretend to her interference, and her services still gratefully acknowledged by those who had recourse to them.

On a separation, for incompatibility of temper, about to take place between her niece, Lady Elizabeth Noel, and Mr. Norton, to whom she was married, Lady Russell was addressed by the husband, to settle the terms on which they were to part. This she does in a letter remarkable for the considerate and feeling manner in which she treats the subject, such as to call forth Mr. Norton's warmest acknowledgments. He desires to conclude his letter of thanks for her interference "with the pleasing repetition of the obligations I "shall publicly own while I have breath."

Thus deservedly enjoying the respect and honour due to the experience and the wisdom of length of days, she kept her mind free from its prejudices, peculiarities, and selfishness, by still maintaining over her feelings the same rigorous self-examination to which she had ever accustomed herself.

In an unfinished paper, the writing of which denotes the trembling hand of extreme old age, and the contents of which seem notes intended to have been thrown more directly into the form of prayer; she takes a sort of review of her life in a supplication to Heaven, for pardon on the transgressions she recapitulates. (1) They are such, as prove her inquisition to have been ever directed, not to the forms, but to the feelings of Christian piety; not to outward appearances, but to the inward heart and disposition.

(1) Dev. MSS. The manuscript is a fragment, — a mere rough draft, with so many erasures, and so many words repeated, and omitted, as to have made the transcription difficult, and the meaning sometimes obscure.

" Christianity," she thought " not distinguished by outward fashions, " or by the professing a body of notions differing from others in the " world, but by the renewing of our minds by peaceableness, charity, " and heavenly love." (1)

The balance between the world's opinion and her character, she knew had been long struck, and was greatly in her favour; but that between her own conscience and Heaven, she here enters into with a scrupulous exactness which may assure us, she had not weightier matters to bring forward in the account.

" Vanity cleaves to me, I fear, O Lord! in all I say, in all I do. " In all I suffer, proud, not enduring to slights or neglects, subject to " envy the good parts of others, even as to worldly gifts. Failing in " my duty to my superiors; apt to be soon angry with, and without " cause too often; and by it may have grieved those that desired to " please me, or provoked others to sin by my rash anger. Not " ready to own any advantage I may have received by good advice or " example. Not well satisfied if I have not all the respect I expected, " even from my superiors. Such has been the pride of my naught " heart, I fear, and also neglect in my performances due to my " superiors, children, friends, or servants — I heartily lament my sin. " But, alas! in my most dear husband's troubles, seeking help from " man, but finding none. His life was taken away, and so sorely was " my spirit wounded, even without prospect of future comfort or " consolation — the more faulty in me, having three dear children to " perform my duty to, with thankfulness for such a blessing left me, " under so heavy a dispensation as I felt the loss of him to be. But, " alas! how feeble did I find myself both then, and also poorly " prepared to bear the loss of my dear child and only son, " in 1711.

" If I carry my sorrow to the grave, O Lord, in much mercy let it " not be imputed as sin in me! His death was a piercing sorrow to " me, yet thou hast supported me, Lord! even in a very old age, and

(1) Dev. MSS.

" freer from bodily pains and sickness than most feel — I desire " thankfully to recollect.

" Alas ! from my childhood I can recollect a backwardness to pray, " and coldness when I did, and ready to take or seek cause to be " absent at the public ones. Even after a sharp sickness and danger " at Chelsea, spending my time childishly, if not idly ; and if I had " read a few lines in a pious book, contented I had done well. Yet, " at the same time, ready to give ear to reports, and possibly malicious " ones, and telling my mother-in-law, to please her. At seventeen " years of age was married; continued too often being absent at " the public prayers, taking very slight causes to be so, liking too well " the esteemed diversions of the town, as the Park, visiting, plays, &c. " trifling away my precious time. At our return to London, I can " recollect that I would choose upon a Sunday to go to church at " Lord B.'s, where the sermon would be short, a great dinner, and " after, worldly talk; when at my father's, the sermon longer, and " discourse more edifying. And too much after the same way, I " much fear, at my several returns to Wales and England. In the " year 1665, was brought to bed of my first child; with him too " indulging I fear to get strength soon, and spend my time as before, " much with my loved sisters ; I doubt not heedful, or not enough " so, my servants went to church, if I did, or did not go myself.

" Some time after in London, and then with my father's wife at " Tunbridge, and after with her at Bath, gave too much of my time " to carelessly indulging in idleness. At Bath too well contented to " follow the common way of passing the time in diversion, and thinking " but little what was serious : considering more health of body than " that of my soul. Forgive my heaviness and sloth in spirituals, for " Christ Jesus' sake.

" After this, I must still accuse myself that sometimes in Wales, " and other times in England, my care in good has not suited to " my duty, not with the active and devout heart and mind I " should in the evening have praised thee, my God, for the mercies " of the past day, and recollected my evil doings, or omissions

" of doing good in my power. Not in the morning carefully fixing " my will and purpose to pass the day pleasing in thy sight, and " giving good example to man, particularly such as under my care; " more especially after my second marriage, forgetting by whose " blessing I was so happy, consuming too much time with him." * * * *The end wanting.*

Lady Russell had attained the age of eighty-six before she was summoned to pay the debt of nature. Of her last illness we know little. Her only remaining child, the Duchess of Devonshire, received at Chatsworth an account of her mother's seizure, and immediately returned to her in London. A letter from the Duchess of Devonshire's daughter, Lady Rachael Morgan (1), to her brother, Lord James Cavendish, from Chatsworth, tells us — " The bad ac- " count we have received of grandmamma Russell, has put us " into great disorder and hurry. Mamma has left us, and gone to " London." * * * * * * * * * " I believe she has stopt the letters on the road, for none have come " here to-day, so that we are still in suspense. The last post brought " us so bad an account, that we have reason to fear the worst. I " should be very glad that mamma should get to town time enough " to see her, because it might be some satisfaction to both, and I hear " grandmamma asked for her." (2)

This letter is dated the 26th September, and Lady Russell expired on the 29th. (3) Her death, therefore, was not according to

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(1) Lady Rachael Cavendish, married to Sir William Morgan, of Tredegar, in Monmouthshire.

(2) Dev. MSS.

(3) In *The Weekly Journal, or Saturday's Post*, September 28th, 1723, a newspaper of the day, it is mentioned, that " The Lady Russell, widow of the Lord William Russell that " was beheaded, continues dangerously ill." In another *Weekly Journal, or British Gazetteer*, October 5th, 1723, her death is thus recorded: " The Right Honourable the Lady " Russell, relict of Lord William Russell, died on Sunday morning last, at five o'clock, at " Southampton House, aged eighty-six, and her corpse is to be carried to Chenies, in " Buckinghamshire, to be interred with that of her Lord." *The London Journal* of the

the Euthanasia of the Poet, — " instant, and without a groan;" but it was certainly not preceded by long sufferings: and if ever any mortal, in dying, might hope to

" Wake to rapture in a life to come,"

it was the pure spirit, warm heart, and tried virtues of Lady Russell.

May the writer of the foregoing pages be allowed to hope, while fast sinking to the grave that must shortly close for ever on an insignificant existence — may she be allowed to hope, *that* existence rescued from the imputation of perfect inutility, by having thus endeavoured to develope, and hold up to the admiration of her countrywomen, so bright an example of female excellence as the character of Lady Russell? a character whose celebrity was purchased by the sacrifice of no feminine virtue, and whose principles, conduct, and sentiments, equally well adapted to every condition of her sex, will in all be found the surest guides to peace, honour, and happiness.

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following week, Saturday October 12. 1723, mentions, that " On Tuesday morning last " the corpse of the Lady Russell was carried from her house in Bloomsbury-square, to " its interment at Chenies, in Buckinghamshire." This is all the notice taken of Lady Russell's death, by the newspapers of the day. In these more inquisitive times, every particular of the illness, death, interment, and testamentary dispositions of so distinguished a person, would have been detailed in a dozen daily papers, and repeated and amplified in as many magazines and monthly publications. In the present instance it is to be regretted that their scanty information is not supplied by any letters or family remembrances.

(1) In the fancied niches of the Temple of Fame, which it is delightful to assign to past merit, Lady Russell and Madame de Sévigné may surely be placed at the head of female excellence in their respective countries; and the entirely separate character of their minds, their modes of thinking, their opinions, and their habits of life, may perhaps be found, not unfairly, to represent the appropriate and distinguishing excellencies of the two nations to which they belong.

Both nobly born, and nearly contemporaries, (2) Lady Russell, at a time when the serious discussion of the subjects of religion and government in England became so general as to interest and occupy all orders of people, received her first impressions of both from a father, whose virtues and whose conduct must have deeply engraven those impressions on her intelligent mind.

Madame de Sévigné, born while France, under the strong arm of Richelieu, was settling into the quiet of arbitrary power, and making rapid advances in all the refinements, pleasures, and expenses which its policy encourages, received an education, rare for the time of day as to the cultivation of her talents, but so strongly tinctured with the peculiarities of the soil on matters of religion and government, that her naturally good abilities could never totally eradicate them, and her diffidence in her own opinion often made her strive to perpetuate.

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(1) It is hardly necessary to observe, that neither comparison nor contrast is here intended between the accomplishments of the two persons in question, still less between their epistolary talents, in which one of them is likely to remain for ever unrivalled. The mutual excellence of their moral characters and conduct, in very dissimilar circumstances, alone suggested this attempt to recall these illustrious contemporaries in each other's company, to the particular attention of the present generation.

(2) Madame de Sévigné was born in 1626, and died at the age of seventy, in 1696. Lady Russell was born in 1636, and died at the age of eighty-six, in 1723.

Lady Russell, united in the meridian of life to the husband of her choice, whose character, whose virtues, and whose attachment to her, excited and perfected every faculty both of her heart and of her understanding, with whom she thought as with a friend, and felt as with a lover, was called forth from that domestic life, which, during twelve happy years, had fostered her virtues, strengthened her affections, and matured her abilities, to the high destiny of aiding and supporting the man she loved in a mortal danger, of submitting to the glorious sacrifice of his life to his honour and his principles, of bringing peace and composure to his dying moments; and, last and severest of trials, to the melancholy duty of surviving him, to embalm his memory, to weep his loss, and to protect his children.

Madame de Sévigné, early married, and early deprived of a husband, the choice of her family, and of a character not likely to have called forth the inexhaustible capacity of her heart for every virtuous affection, sought and found, in her youthful widowhood, consolation and happiness in the rational enjoyment of the best society, in the cultivation of her mind, the affection of her friends, and above all, in her devoted attachment to her daughter. Thus becoming the ornament of the distinguished circle in which she lived, no less admired for the incomparable charm of her conversation, and of her correspondence, than loved for the warm affections of her heart, and respected for the blameless integrity of her life.

In the contemplation of Lady Russell's character, the lighter graces of society, however much they might have become her virtues and adorned her tenderly affectionate disposition, are lost in the great and imposing scenes in which we behold her; in the respect with which we find her considered and consulted in the most important affairs; in the confidential reverence with which she is looked up to by her children and her friends.

The result of these circumstances, of the severe virtues she had been called upon to exercise, and the severe trials to which those virtues had been exposed, was a mind deeply impressed with the truths of that religion which had taught her to "rejoice with trembling"

during her felicity, and which she had found "a tower of strength" to her in her adversity: that religion, which held out the only consolation she sought, in the assurance of rejoining the Being she never ceased to weep, and regaining the happiness she had too justly appreciated, and too truly enjoyed, to seek otherwise to replace. Neglecting no duty from her sorrows, assuming no merit from her sufferings, nor any importance from the high consideration in which she was held.

Madame de Sévigné, brought up in the strictest doctrines of the religion of her country, and belonging to a family which had been distinguished for its austere piety, we find, in the innocent openness of her heart, reluctantly admitting some doctrines which she had in vain endeavoured to impose on her excellent understanding; and while in the exercise of every christian virtue, and the practice of every moral precept, reproaching herself with not being able to attain a state of mind, which, however desirable, she cannot always persuade herself to persist in as necessary: satisfied with that implicit belief and trust in the mercy of an Almighty Being, worthy of her pure, tender, and confiding character.

To Lady Russell, religion was the support of her sorrows: to Madame de Sévigné, the confirmation of her enjoyments. Both equally under its benign influence, uniting to superior intellect, the greatest tenderness of heart, and the most unsullied purity of conduct.

In Madame de Sévigné, adorned by every charm of wit, taste, social accomplishment, and all the fascinating graces of her sex, which may be said peculiarly to distinguish her countrywomen.

In Lady Russell, accompanied by the character of a heroine, united to the conduct of a saint.

The existence of such characters allows the weaker sex to assume a rank in the scale of intellectual being, which may satisfy the most ambitious mind, excite to the most virtuous exertions, and compensate for the most painful sufferings.

LETTERS

FROM

RACHAEL LADY RUSSELL

TO

HER HUSBAND WILLIAM LORD RUSSELL,

FROM 1672 TO 1682.

LADY VAUGHAN (1) TO MR. WILLIAM RUSSELL,

FROM 1672 TO 1678.

LETTER I.

[*From London to Stratton, 16th May*, 1672.]

I WILL not endeavour to tell you what I suffer by being parted from you, but beg of you that we may meet again (God permitting) as soon as may be. Things are here just as they were; no obstruction removed by my sister (2) being able to resolve, but will, I guess,

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(1) Lady Vaughan retained the name of her first husband Lord Vaughan till Mr. Russell, by the death of his elder brother Francis Lord Russell in 1678, succeeded to his title.

(2) Elizabeth Wriothesley half sister to Lady Russell. She had been first married to Jocelyn Percy, the last Earl of Northumberland, and then to the Honourable Ralph Montagu, Son of Lord Montagu of Boughton, and afterwards himself Duke of Montagu.

to-morrow; for yesterday Sherwood wrote word the Duke (3) at farthest would be at Dover as this morning, then he was to ask for the boat, and the report she then receives, which will be to-morrow, being Friday, will certainly make her determine; but, whatever that is, I desire you will allow me to come to you on Tuesday, unless you intend, as the coachman says you do, to be here on Monday. Your father says you promised him to come again. I cannot acquaint you with my sister's resolves till the Saturday's post; so cannot have your's, whatever we shall do till the Wednesday after, which by your pardon I must not stay for, so that unless I see you on Monday, I am of opinion you will me at Stratton (4) on Tuesday or Wednesday. On Saturday you shall have more of my mind; but the coachman says he is appointed to be at Bagshot on Monday. I do all I can to put off going to Dover. My Lady Shrewsbury (5) is returned from Dover without more company than she carried with her. Here was an alarm on Tuesday night by guns being heard; the cause was,

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He was now embassador in France, and it was to France that she was wanting to go. See mention made of this Lady and of Mr. Montagu, in a letter of Madame de la Fayette to Madame de Sevigné. *Lettres de Madame de Sevigné, vol. ii. p.* 340. Grouvelle's Edit.

(3) The Duke of York, then going to take the command of the fleet in the second Dutch war.

(4) The house and estate in Hampshire which Lady Russell had inherited from her father Lord Southampton, and where she and Lord Russell resided in the summer.

(5) Anna Maria Brudenel, daughter of Robert Earl of Cardigan. This is the person whose husband, Francis Earl of Shrewesbury, was killed (1667) in a duel, by the Duke of Buckingham, when she was said to have held the Duke's horse in the disguise of a page. See Evelyn's account of meeting this Lady at Newmarket the autumn before the date of this letter, on his return from Lord Arlington's at Euston, where the King was coming every day from Newmarket. "The Duke of Buckingham was now in mighty fa-"vour, and had with him that impudent woman the Countess of Shrewesbury, with his "band of fiddlers," &c. Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 422.

It is she whom Pope mentions in the two well known lines of his character of the Duke of Buckingham.

"Gallant and gay in Cliveden's proud alcove,
"The bower of wanton Shrewesbury and love."

The Duke of Buckingham was now a volunteer on board the Duke of York's fleet, to which circumstance probably Lady Russell's remark alludes.

seven of our ships, intending to go to join the Duke, found themselves just upon the Dutch fleet, upon which they retired; and the Dutch followed so close that the Castle shot upon the Dutch. There is difference in opinions about the fleets engaging; they say still a few days must now show it. Mrs. Laton and her she friend, not your's, at least not your best, (I praise God), were yesterday in every corner of your house, and without the house; she praised it, and seems to like it as well as you have done her. My Lady Newport (6) goes into Shropshire on Monday next come-fortnight, so that she says she must defer her Stratton journey till another year. I am writing in my sister Die's bed-chamber (7); my Lord (8) is just looking in, and bids me send you his affectionate remembrance, and hopes to see you on Saturday. I shall be thought very long writing, for we are going abroad when I am done; but not for my diversion, I am sure you will believe, when, to do so, I must leave what I am now about, which yet I cannot till I have signed with great truth,

Myself your's,

May 16th, Thursday. R. VAUGHAN.

LETTER II.

[*From London to Stratton, May*, 1672.]

I AM very sure, my dearest Mr. Russell meant to oblige me extremely when he enjoined me to scribble to him by the post, as knowing he could not do a kinder thing than to let me see he designed not to think me impertinent in it; though we parted but this morning, which I might reasonably have doubted to have been,

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(6) Lady Diana Russell wife of Francis Lord Newport, afterwards created Earl of Bradford. She was daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, and consequently aunt to Lord Russell.

(7) Lady Diana Russell sister to Lord Russell, first married to Sir Greville Verney, and then to William Lord Allington.

(8) William, fifth Earl of Bedford, father of Lord Russell.

when I have passed all this long day and learned nothing new can entertain you and your good company, all I see either are or appear duller to me than when you are here; and I do not find the town is enlivened by the victory (1) we have obtained; there is no more talked of than you heard last night, nor nothing printed, because there is no letters come yet; Tom Howard, Lord Howard's son (2), is expected every hour with them. Many whisper the French behaved themselves not like firm friends. The Duke of York's marriage is broke off (3); that, or other causes, makes him look less in good humour than ordinary; they say she is offered the King of Spain; and our Prince shall have d'Elbeuf (4); Mrs. Ogle (5) is to marry Craven Howard, Tom Howard's son (6); and Tom Wharton (7) has another mistress in chase, my Lady Rochester's grandchild (8); but he is so unfortunate before the end that it is mis-

(1) This was the bloody engagement in Solbay, of the 28th May, in which the Duke of York gained a dear-bought advantage over the Dutch Fleet, commanded by De Ruyter. Lady Russell, we see, confirms what Burnet says of the supposed treachery of the French Fleet, then acting as our ally.

(2) He succeeded to the title by his father's death this year, and is the same person who, under the name of Lord Howard of Escrick, was the principal evidence against Lord Russell, in the Rye House plot.

(3) That with the Archduchess of Inspruck, afterwards married to the Emperor.

(4) Charles de Lorraine Duc d'Elbœuf married Catharine Henriette, a daughter of Henri IV. and Gabrielle d'Estrees. It must be a daughter of theirs here mentioned as the intended wife of the Duke of York.

(5) Mrs. Ogle (or according to the language of the present day, Miss Ogle) was the daughter of Thomas Ogle, Esq., of Pinchbeck in Lincolnshire, and was Maid of Honour to Queen Catherine of Portugal.

(6) Who was the fourth son of the first Earl of Berkshire, see in Evelyn's Diary, vol. 1. p. 452., an account of a lawsuit Mr. Craven Howard had with his mother, which Evelyn believes to have been "by instigation doubtless of his wife, one Mrs. Ogle (an "ancient maid) whom he had clandestinely married, and who brought him no fortune."

(7) Son of Philip Lord Wharton, and afterwards created Earl of Wharton.

(8) Elizabeth Wilmot, daughter of the profligate Lord Rochester. Neither of the persons here mentioned succeeded in their addresses; she married Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich. She is the same person who in her widowhood lived much at Paris, and is often mentioned in the correspondence of St. Evremond with Ninon de l'Enclos, who was frequently admitted to her society.

trusted he may miss her, though the grandmother is his great friend. Young Arundel, my Lord Arundel of Trerice his son, is extremely in love, and went down where she is, and watched her coming abroad to take the air, rode up to her coach, Mr. Warton was on horse by the coach side; Arundel thrust him away, and, looking into the coach, told her no man durst say he valued her at the rate he did. Mr. Warton, like a good Christian, turned the other cheek; for he took no notice of it; but the other having no opportunity to see or speak to her, was thus forced to return; but Warton is admitted to the house. My cousin Spencer (9) is at Kimbolton still, so we may send thither time enough. My Lady Jane and (10) Northumberland are waiting for an egg when I have done this, so that I scarce know what I say; yet I am loath to leave, and hope, how ill soever I express myself, you will still understand me to be entirely, as I ought,

Your's,

R. VAUGHAN.

My best service to your ladies. I hope they find no other inconveniencies in their journey than what the unfitness of the place to receive them is cause of. My Lord Ormond was at the door to inquire for you, so that I guess they are come from Hatfield.

Saturday night.

LETTER III.

[*From London to Stratton, September 23, 1672.*]

IF I were more fortunate in my expression, I could do myself more right when I would own to my dearest Mr. Russell what real and perfect happiness I enjoy, from that kindness he allows me every

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(9) The Honourable Robert Spencer, son of William Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton, by Penelope, daughter of Henry Earl of Southampton, (father of the Lord Treasurer,) and consequently cousin to Lady Russell.

(10) Lady Northumberland, her sister.

day to receive new marks of, such as, in spite of the knowledge I have of my own wants, will not suffer me to mistrust I want his love, though I do merit, to so desirable a blessing; but, my best life, you that know so well how to love and to oblige, make my felicity entire, by believing my heart possessed with all the gratitude, honour and passionate affection to your person, any creature is capable of, or can be obliged to; and this granted, what have I to ask but a continuance (if God see fit) of these present enjoyments? if not, a submission, without murmur, to his most wise dispensations and unerring providence; having a thankful heart for the years I have been so perfectly contented in: He knows best when we have had enough here; what I most earnestly beg from his mercy is, that we both live so as, which ever goes first, the other may not sorrow as for one of whom they have no hope. Then let us cheerfully expect to be together to a good old age; if not, let us not doubt but he will support us under what trial he will inflict upon them. These are necessary meditations sometimes, that we may not be surprised above our strength by a sudden accident, being unprepared. Excuse me if I dwell too long upon it; it is from my opinion that if we can be prepared for all conditions, we can with the greater tranquillity enjoy the present; which I hope will be long; though when we change, it will be for the better, I trust, through the merits of Christ. Let us daily pray it may be so, and then admit of no fears; death is the extremest evil against nature it is true; let us overcome the immoderate fear of it, either to our friend or self, and then what light hearts may we live with? But I am immoderate in my length of this discourse, and consider this is to be a letter. To take myself off, and alter the subject, I will tell you the news came on Sunday night to the Duke of York, that he was a married man; he was talking in the drawing-room, when the French ambassador (1) brought the letters in, and told the news; the Duke turned

(1) M. de Croissy, brother to Colbert.

about and said, " Then I am a married man." It proved to be to the Princess of Modena; for it was rather expected to be Canaples' niece (2); she is to have 100,000 francs paid here; and now we may say she has more wit than ever woman had before; as much beauty, and greater youth than is necessary; he sent his daughter, Lady Mary (3), word the same night, he had provided a playfellow for her. Mr. Neale, who interrupts me in this my most pleasant employment, tells me, my Lord Mulgrave (4) has the garter given him. The Duke of Monmouth (5) goes this week, and more regiments, as they talk now. The Emperor has made a declaration, or remonstrance, how the French have made the first breaches, so forced him to war; that he has declared; but I do not find that the Swede joins yet with the French. The Lady Northumberlands has met at Northumberland-house. After some propositions offered by my sister to the other (6), which were discoursed first yesterday before

(2) M. de Canaples was a younger brother of the Duc and of the Marechal de Crequi. His niece was the Duc de Crequi's daughter, whom Madame de Sevigné mentions as a probable match for the Duc de Lauzun, in a letter, vol. i. p. 102. Grouvelle's Edit.

(3) Afterwards Princess of Orange and Queen of England. She was now eleven years old.

(4) John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards created by Queen Ann Duke of Buckingham.

(5) To France. He was made the next year, a Lieutenant-General in the French service.

(6) The elder Dowager Countess of Northumberland. She was daughter of the Earl of Suffolk here mentioned. " *The child*" in question was her grand-daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Percy, only child and heir of Jocelyn Percy, the last Earl of Northumberland, by the Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley (Lady Russell's sister), now married to Mr. Montagu. The Lady Elizabeth Percy was twice a widow before she was sixteen. She was thrice married, first 1679, before she was twelve years old to Henry Cavendish, Earl of Ogle, only son of the last Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, who dying the year after (1680), she was married *de jure*, but not *de facto* in 1681, to Mr. Thynne, assassinated by Count Koningsmarck in Pall Mall (1682), and the same year she married Charles, the sixth Duke of Somerset. She is the person, of whose influence afterwards with Queen Anne (to whom she was first Lady of the Bed-chamber,) the Tories were so much afraid during Lord Oxford's administration. The unwarrantable and unprincipled manner in which she was abused by Swift in " the Windsor Prophecy" sufficiently excused her for having been the means of preventing the Queen ever allowing of his promotion in England. See " the Windsor Prophecy," Swift's Poetical Works.

my Lord Chancellor, between the elder lady and Mr. Montagu, Lord Suffolk by; my sister offers to deliver up the child, upon condition she will promise, she shall have her on a visit for ten days or a month sometimes, and that she will enter into bonds not to marry the child without the mother's consent, nor till she is of years of consent; and, on her part, Mr. Montagu and she will enter into the same bonds, that when she is with them, or at no time, they will marry or contract any marriage for her, without the grandmother's consent; but she was stout yesterday, and would not hear patiently; yet went to Northumberland-house, and gave my sister a visit. I hope for an accommodation. My sister urges, it is hard her child, [that if she has no other children must be her heir], should be disposed of without her consent; and in my judgment it is hard; yet I fancy I am not very apt to be partial. If the weather be with you as it is with us, there never was a more dismal time for the country; it is happy you have some society besides hawks. I hope Friday will bring the chiefest desire in the world by your

R. VAUGHAN.

My Lady Bellasys (7) is going to France for a consumption.

For Mr. William Russell, at Stratton House,
to be left with the Postmaster at Alsford,
Hampshire.

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(7) Anne Brudenel, daughter of Lord Cardigan and widow of John Lord Bellasyse of Worlaby. This is the Lady who, Burnet says, the Duke of York wanted to marry. "She was a woman of much life and great vivacity, but of very small proportion of "beauty." Burnet, vol. i. p. 353. folio edit.

She afterwards married Charles, second Duke of Richmond.

LETTER IV.

[*From London to Stratton*, 1675.]

THE few hours we have been parted seem too many to me, to let this first post-night pass, without giving my dear man a little talk, which mus be an account how I have spent my time; for intelligence I have none, and my heart and thoughts are all known to Mr. Russell. Therefore, to return to my present design, I am to tell you, though I intended to dine where I am now, at Leicester-house (1), yet, your father coming to see our Miss (2), carried me to dinner to Bedford-house to eat Devonshire fish, and after wanting gamesters I must play one hour; but before I had done one quarter, Lord Suffolk (3) came, and I desired to resign to him, having won my Lord five pounds and myself thirty shillings; so I came to my sister, and found her in great trouble, the child seeming indeed to be very ill, and the doctor directing a vomit, and whilst it was getting ready he went to see my Lady Jones' (4) children, and whilst he was there, her youngest boy died, played with him when he came in, and only flushed in his face and died instantly. My sister's girl is better to-day; our's fetched but one sleep last night, and was very good this morning. My Lord Stamford (5) left his wife this morning at four o'clock, and is gone to his uncle Gray. This Mr.

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(1) Leicester House was at this time inhabited by her sister Lady Northumberland and Mr. Montagu, while Montagu House (now the British Museum) was building.

(2) Their eldest child, Rachael, afterwards Duchess of Devonshire, born the preceding year.

(3) Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk. He was the father of the elder Countess Dowager of Northumberland, by Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of George Earl of Dunbar in Scotland.

(4) Wife of Sir William Jones, made Attorney General in January of this year. See Burnet's character of him, vol. ii. p. 150. 8vo. edit.

(5) Henry Grey, Earl of Stamford, married one of the daughters and co-heiresses of William Earl of Exeter.

Darcy (6) told me this morning; but you will suppose I have not bettered my information since, being at this day at Leicester-house; the Lord Huntingtour (7) is a better fortune than he was by the death of the Lord Stanhope, 1500l. a year coming to him. Mr. Grimes (8), that was at Wickham, was married yesterday to Dol. Howard, the maid-of-honour. Madam Mazarin (9) is not arrived

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(6) The Honourable Conyers Darcy, eldest son of Lord Darcy and Conyers. He had married the widow of the Lord Treasurer Southampton, and was himself created Earl of Holderness, in 1682.

(7) Lord Huntingtour was son (by her first marriage) of the Duchess of Lauderdale, who was Countess of Dysart in her own right.

(8) Colonel James Grehme of Leevens in Westmoreland. Of their previous courtship we find the following account in Mr. Evelyn's Journal. After mentioning accompanying Mrs. Howard and her two daughters (of whom this lady was one) to Northampton, on law business, he says,

"In this journey went part of the way Mr. James Graham, (since Privy Purse to the "Duke of York,) a young gentleman, exceedingly in love with Mrs. Dorothy Howard, "one of the Maids of Honour in our company. I could not but pity them both, the "mother not much favouring it. This lady was not only a great beauty, but a most "virtuous excellent creature, and worthy to have been wife to the best of men. My advice "was required, and I spoke to the advantage of the young gentleman, more out of pity, "than that she deserved no better match, for though he was a gentleman of good family, "yet there was great inequality."

(9) Hortensia Mancini, Duchesse de Mazarin, was the niece and heiress of Cardinal Mazarin. She was married to Charles Armand de la Porte de Meilleraye, eldest son of the Marechal de Meilleraye, and on his marriage took the name, arms, and title of Duc de Mazarin. Her eternal disputes with her husband, and the strange conduct of them both, filled the tribunals of France with their legal quarrels and demands on each other, and the ears of the idle of Europe, with endless histories of their private life and adventures. See frequent mention of them in Madame de Sevigné's Letters.

Madame de Mazarin did not arrive in England till the 29th December this year, 1675. She was by birth cousin to the Duke of York's second wife, (a Princess of Modena,) whose mother ——— Martinozzi was another niece of Cardinal Mazarin. This relationship with the Court procured her a distinguished reception here, and a pension of 4000l. a year from Charles II., which was continued to her successively by James and by William, until her death at Chelsea, in 1699. This pension, the sale of her jewels, and every other means of procuring money, were so inadequate to her expensive habits, and her passion for play, that after having been the greatest heiress in Europe, she lived and died overwhelmed with debts. See the works of her admirer and friend, St. Evremond, who, after endeavouring in vain to reclaim her both by reason and by

yet; but I hear Madam Tremblet is. My uncle (10) told Sir Harry Vernon (11) yesterday he was *une des incurables.*

If you are not mightily delighted, I hope you will not stay the longest of your time from your

R. VAUGHAN.

The doctor (12) presents his services to you. He has been to see the child. No city news, he says; but the monied men likely to be undone again, all calling in their money, and they not able to pay it so suddenly.

Harry Saville (13) is in a kind of disgrace with the Duke (*of York*). When the King dined at the Duke of Albemarle's, after dinner, the Duke, talking to Saville, asked if he meant not to invite the King to the business of the day. Saville wondered what he meant. The Duke told him he need not; for sure it was his constant endeavour to get the King to drink more than any that wished him well would do. Saville denied it. "Then go away," replies the other; so he did. And the next day, the King reproaching him for not staying, he told the occasion; so there is great anger. I write in the nursery,

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flattery, often supplied the wants of her extravagance from the savings of his economy. "Madame de Mazarin m'a du jusques á huit cens livres sterling: elle me devoit jusques "a quatre cens guinées quand elle est morte." "Quand je songe que la nièce et l'hé- "ritière de M. le Cardinal Mazarin, à eu besoin de moi en certains tems pour subsister, "je fais des reflexions chretiennes, qui serveront à mon salût, si elles sont inutiles pour "mon payment." *Ouvres de St. Evremond,* vol. iii. p. 291.

See also her life written by herself at the end of the Abbé de St. Real's, "*Conspiration de Venice.*"

(10) M. de Ruvigny. He was now Embassador from France, but was superseded in the May following by M. de Courtin.

(11) Sir Harry Vernon was cousin to Lady Russell, her grandfather, Henry Earl of Southampton, having married Elizabeth Vernon, sister to Sir Robert Vernon of Hodnet in Shropshire.

(12) Dr. Lower, a physician of eminence in the reign of Charles II. See Granger's Biog. Hist., vol. iv. p. 313.

(13) Brother to the Marquis of Halifax.

and Lady Harvey (14) is just rushed by, and no sister at home; so I may be engaged, but I think not, for she is started back again, a perfect vision! I am going to see poor Lady Jones.

For Mas. William Russell, at Stratton in Hampshire, to be left with the post-master at Alsford.

LETTER V.

[*From London to Stratton, Feb. 10th, 1675.*]

WHAT reputation writing this may give me, the chamber being full of ladies, I know not; but I am sure, to be ill in that heart (to whose person I send this) I dare not hazard; and since he expects a letter from me, by neglect I shall make no omission, and without doubt the performance of it is a pleasanter thing than I have had sense of, from the time we parted; and all acts of obedience must be so to my dearest man, who, I trust in God, is well; but ill entertained, I fear, at Stratton, but what the good company repairs. The weather is here very ill, and the winds so high that I desire to hope you do not lie in our old chamber, being afraid when I think you do. Our little Fubs (1) is very well; made her usual court to her grandfather just now, who is a little melancholy for his horses; but they are all sent to take the air at Kensington, or somewhere out of town. My Lord's gelding is dead, and more saddle horses, and one coach-horse, I think. I have asked every one I see for news, but all I can learn is, that Attorney Montague has done his best to be Chief Justice, but will fail; Winington most spoke (2) of; some say Rainsford (3). Montague (4) shall be a Judge, and so contented, if he please. My

(14) Sister to Ralph, the first Duke of Montagu, married to Sir Daniel Hervey, sent Embassador to the Porte in 1676. She is the person to whom La Fontaine's fable of "*Le Renard Anglois*" is addressed. See fable 23d, book 12.

(1) Their little daughter.

(2) Sir Francis Winnington was then Solicitor-General, having succeeded Sir William Jones in 1673.

(3) Sir Richard Rainsford was made Chief Justice in April 1676.

(4) William Montague, Esq. was made a Baron of the Exchequer. All the law promotions here mentioned as probable, did not take place till the next year, 1676.

Lord Halifax (5) continues ill still. My Lord Duras (6) is not married yet: some speak of a stop in it. There is no more news of the fleets. The King and Duke both professed that if they could see a report from De Ruyter they should give a perfect credit to it, being sure he would write nothing but truth. There is such a buzz, I can so little tell what I say, that it is in vain to say more. My Lady Die sends a token of the bill of mortality, and Lady Shaftesbury (7), the Mercury. All this charge comes from my putting up the Gazette, the ladies would obligingly add. I am, my best love, more than I can tell you, and as much as I ought,

Your's,

Feb. 10th. R. VAUGHAN.

LETTER VI.

[*From London to Stratton, Feb. 11th*, 1675.]

EVERY new promise of Mr. Russell's unalterable kindness is a most unspeakable delight to my thoughts; therefore I need use no more words to tell you how welcome your letter was to me; but how much welcomer Monday will be, I hope you do imagine. Your father sent me the inclosed, but says withal, that the news at Court from France this morning was, Messina was relieved. For weddings and deaths, and that sort of news, I know not the least. Her Grace of Cleveland (1) has set the day for France to be within ten

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(5) George Saville, Earl and afterwards Marquis of Halifax.

(6) Louis de Duras, brother to the French Duc de Duras. He was naturalized and made Lord Duras by Charles II. in the year 1673. He married Mary the eldest daughter of George Londes Earl of Feversham, and succeeded to that title according to the entail in right of his wife. See frequent mention made of him by St. Evremond.

(7) Margaret Spencer, third wife of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, was daughter of William Lord Spencer of Wormleighton, by Penelope, daughter of Henry, Earl of Southampton, (father of the Lord Treasurer,) and was consequently cousin to Lady Russell.

(1) Barbara Villiers was the daughter and heiress of William Villiers, Viscount Grandison, who fell in the royal cause at the battle of Edgehill. She was born about

days. The Duchess of Portsmouth (2) is melancholy, as some persons will have it, and with reason. You will easily conclude your sister Alington is so, when I tell you her boy has the measles; he had a cough two or three days, but was so well, she was with him in the Park last night, and this morning the measles appeared; but I hear nothing but he is very well with them; the doctor sees no ill symptom at all. Our girl is as you left her, I bless the mercy of God for it. I have silently retired to my little dressing-room for this performance, the next being full of company at cards. The Lady Pultney (3) one, introduced by Lady Southampton. (4) I am engaged with Northumberland (5); but at nothing, nor to nothing upon earth entirely, but to my dear Mr. Russell; his I am with most passionate affection.

R. VAUGHAN.

I am a humble servant to all your company.

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the year 1642, and was married the year before the Restoration to Roger Palmer, then a student in the Temple, afterwards created Earl of Castlemaine, by which title she was known till the year 1670, when she was created by Charles II. Duchess of Cleveland. She had three sons by the King, whom he successively created Dukes of Cleveland, of Grafton, and of Northumberland, and one daughter born in the first year of her marriage, who bore the name of Palmer, with the farther dubious designation of *adopted daughter* of the King. She married, at fourteen, Thomas Lennard, Earl of Sussex.

(2) Louisa de Querouaille, the daughter of a noble family in Brittany, was an attendant on Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, when she visited England, and was met by the King her brother, at Dover in 1672. The charms of this lady were supposed to have been purposely thrown in the way of the King, to attach him more effectually to the interests of France. The plan succeeded, and she shortly after became the reigning mistress, and was created Duchess of Portsmouth. In Evelyn's Diary, are some curious details of a visit he made to Lord Arlington at Euston in 1673, when Mademoiselle de Querouaille was among the guests. In the same entertaining Diary, we find mention made of a visit Mr. Evelyn received from a Mr. and Madame de Querouaille, relations of the Duchess of Portsmouth's, who were in England in the year 1675. They had been much known to his father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, during his residence in Brittany. See Diary, vol. i. p. 449.

(3) Annabella, daughter of George, Earl of Berkeley, married to Sir William Pultney, Knight, of Misterton in Leicestershire.

(4) Frances, daughter of William Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and Widow of Viscount Molineux, when she married the Lord Treasurer Southampton, (Lady Russell's father,) to whom she was third wife. She long survived him, and afterwards married Conyers d'Arcy, the first Earl of Holdernesse.

(5) Lady Northumberland her sister.

LETTER VII.

[*From Tichfield to London, 22d August*, 1675.]

Sunday night.

I WRITE this to my dear Mr. Russell, because I love to be busied in either speaking of him or to him; but the pretence I take is lest that I wrote yesterday should miscarry; so this may again inform you at London, that your coach shall be at Harford Bridge (if God permit) upon Thursday night, to wait your coming; and on Saturday I hope to be at Stratton, and my sister (1) also. This day she resolved it, so her coach will bring us all, as I think to contrive it, or at least with the help of the chariot and cart-horses; but I think to send you the coach, to save sending six horses for it, for a pair will bring the chariot. It is an inexpressible joy to consider, I shall see the person in the world I most and only long to be with, before another week is past; I should condemn my sense of this expected happiness as weak and pitiful, if I could tell it you. No, my best life, I can say little, but think all you can, and you cannot think too much: my heart makes it all good. I perfectly know my infinite obligations to Mr. Russell; and in it is the delight of her life, who is as much your's as you desire she should be.

R. VAUGHAN.

Miss is very well. I drink the waters yet, and intend it till I go, if the weather holds so good.

For Mr. Russell at Southampton-house.

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(1) The Lady Elizabeth Noel, eldest daughter of the Lord Treasurer Southampton, married to Edward, eldest son of Lord Noel, afterwards Earl of Gainsborough.

LETTER VIII.

[*From Stratton to London, 24th August*, 1676.]

You bid me write to you on Thursday, but civility obliged me to that to answer yours, so that this is to show my obedience to your orders, and a little indulgence to my own self; since I do love to talk any way with Mr. Russell, though he does abuse poor me sometimes. You had like to have vexed me bravely by Jack Vaughan's (1) letter, I was putting that up in my pocket to read two or three days after, at leisure; I saw you had opened it, but as it was going up, finding one in it, it came in my mind, if he should have put in one, it might be for a trick, how it would vex me! so broke your seal, and was very happy by doing so. Oh, my best life, how long I think it since we were together! I can forgive you if *you* do not do so, upon condition you do not stay too long away. Your coach, by the grace of God, shall be at Bagshot on Wednesday night; and on Thursday will, I hope, bring my wishes to me. I know nothing there is to give you notice of from hence. The joiners will end their work to-day in the new room. There is no coping bricks till Monday: nor till you come to her, no entire satisfaction in the heart of your affectionate

R. VAUGHAN.

For Mr. Russell, at Russell-house in Southampton Square, London.

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(1) A relation of the Earl of Carberry's.

LETTER IX.

[*From London to Woburn, April*, 1677.]

I CANNOT neglect so great a pleasure to myself as writing to Mr. Russell is, yet have nothing to tell him, but how I have passed my time since I saw him yesterday: it was with your two sisters (1) at a Dutch Woman's (2), Paternoster-row, and the three Exchanges. (3) This day I dined at the Tower (4), but there is no news: the Lords have no answer of their petition. (5) Mr. Shepherd has not been heard

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(1) Lady Allington and Lady Margaret Russell.

(2) This was probably what was called an *India-house*, a warehouse where tea, china, and other Indian goods were then only to be purchased. It was the *shopping* of the fine ladies of those days: it afterwards became so much the fashion with the young and gay, that other motives than "to cheapen tea, or buy a screen *," were imputed to the visits to India-houses. King William's severity reprehended Queen Mary for having been persuaded to go to one; and Cibber makes Lady Towneley "take a flying jaunt to an India-house," as one of the most dashing gaieties of a fine lady's London life.

(3) The three exchanges were Exeter, the New Exchange, and the Royal Exchange.

(4) Probably with Lord Shaftesbury, who had been sent to the Tower in February, 1676, with the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Wharton, for having asserted that Parliament was legally dissolved by a prorogation of more than a year. The three last were shortly after liberated, but Lord Shaftesbury remained in confinement above a twelvemonth.

(5) Mr. Shepherd† was an upper servant, out of livery, of Lord Shaftesbury's, or his *gentleman*, as they were then called, and, indeed, as they often were by birth, although serving in a menial capacity in great families. See Rawleigh Redivivus, or the Life and Death of Anthony late Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 55.

Butler, the author of Hudibras, was designated in the same manner in the family of the Countess of Kent. "She gave her gentleman twenty pounds a-year. He [Butler] "lived some years in her family." See Letters by eminent Persons from the Bodleian Library, vol. ii. p. 260.

* "To cheapen tea, or buy a screen,
What else could so much virtue mean?"

PRIOR.

† Perhaps a relation to Mr. Shepherd, the wine merchant, at whose house the fatal meeting took place; which, misrepresented, conducted Lord Russell to the scaffold.

from; Charlton (6) came in: he says the King told Mr. Shepherd he came post, but his answer would not be so hasty; nothing will be done in it, it is thought. Wharton is commanded to Woburn, and goes to-morrow. Crequi (7) was overturned just going into Newmarket. The King comes on Saturday or Tuesday: the Queen is ill, and much affected with the blazing star. There is a huge whale come up to Chatham, 52 feet long. Having no better entertainment than you find, I think it is as well for me to make an end, and wait upon Lady Shaftesbury, who means to sup with me. I am most obedient to my Lord and Mr. William Russell, both,

R. VAUGHAN.

Tuesday, 8 o'clock. Our girls (8) are well.

For Mr. William Russell, at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, to be left at Brick-hill.

LETTER X.

[*From London to Woburn*, 12th *April*, 1677.]

I HAVE stayed till past eight, that I might have as much intelligence as I knew how to get. Spencer (1) promised to be here this evening,

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(6) Perhaps son of Sir Job Charlton, who was speaker of the House of Commons in 1673.

(7) Marshal Crequi. His defeat by the Austrians at Consaarbruck in 1675, and its supposed effect on the court of Charles II., is thus mentioned by Lord Russell in one of the few letters to his wife, still extant: —

"I sent you, in my last, the news of Crequi's defeat, which proves very true, and is "owned by M. de Ruvigny: it is a thing of vast consequence at this conjuncture of time, "and will, as it is thought, unavoidably occasion the total ruin of their army about Stras- "burg, for all the victory mentioned in the Gazette; which is so ridiculously penned that "every body laughs at it, and wonders how so silly a thing could be ordered to be "printed. They say that not only the Bretons continue up, but that in the Lower Nor- "mandy there is a rising too, and if so, nobody knows how far it may go." . . . . . "These late disasters of the French have caused great people to shed tears at Windsor."

"August 10. 1675."

(8) Their second daughter Katherine, afterwards Duchess of Rutland, was born in August of the preceding year.

(1) The Honourable Robert Spencer, her cousin.

but I find him not in my chamber, where I expected him at my coming home; for I have spent the afternoon with my sister Allington, and by all our travels could not improve my knowledge, as I extremely desired to do, that I might entertain your dear self the better by this letter; else could have been content to be tomorrow morning as ignorant as I was this; for all my ends and designs in this world are to be as useful and acceptable to my Mr. Russell as I can, to deserve better, if I could, that dear and real kindness I faithfully believe his goodness suffers me to enjoy. My cousin Spencer is just come. The inclosed paper I copied from one Lord Allington gave me last night: it is the King's message to the House yesterday. (2) This day the debate held till 4 o'clock; and the result of it is, you have ordered a second address to thank His Majesty for taking into consideration your first (3), and to desire he would, if he please, pursue what in that they desired; and that they might not be wanting, they have added a clause (if the King accepts of it) to the money bill, that gives him credit to use two hundred thousand of that money towards new alliances; promising, if he do see cause to lay it out, to replace it him again. This, as Sir Hugh Cholmondeley (4) says, is not pleasing at court: expectations were much higher. The Lords have not agreed with the Commons: they desire to have it put in the bill, they should receive an account as well as the Commons. The House was in a way of agreeing, and the Speaker pressed it; till, after three hours' debate, he told them suddenly he had mistook the thing, that he knew the House nice upon money matters, and the Lords had only a negative in money con-

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(2) The 11th of April, 1677.

(3) The first address was for entering into an alliance with Holland against France for the preservation of the Netherlands. The second address to the same purpose was presented on the 25th of the May following: it drew down a sharp reprimand from the King, for prescribing what alliances he was to make, and produced an adjournment of the House.

(4) Sir Hugh Cholmondeley of Whitby, in Yorkshire.

cerns; and this seemed an affirmative, so put it to the question; but would not divide the house, though if they had, the ayes would have carried it, it is believed. To-morrow, at two, is a conference with the Lords. The Queen is so ill she could not perform the Maunday this day, but the Lady Fingale did it. The Lady Arlington's brothers are neither of them killed. (5) The Lady Mohun has a son (6): he is ill; every thing else as you left it. Your girls very well. Miss Rachel has prattled a long story; but Watkins (7) calls for my letter, so I must omit it. She says, papa has sent for her to *Wobee*, and then she gallops and says she has been there, and a great deal more; but boiled oysters call, so my story must rest. She will send no duty: she is positive in it. I present you all any creature can pay: I owe you as much.

R. VAUGHAN.

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(5) Lady Arlington was Isabella de Beverwaert, of the family of Nassau-Orange, being a grand-daughter of Maurice, Prince of Orange. Thomas, Earl of Ossory, (son of the Duke of Ormond,) married a sister of Lady Arlington's, and another sister unmarried, and called Lady Charlotte Beverwaert, was a Lady of the bed-chamber to Queen Anne. See frequent mention made of her in St. Evremond's works under the name of *Mademoiselle*, as an intimate associate of Madame de Mazarin's.

(6) He who was killed in a duel in Hyde Park with the Duke of Hamilton, in 1707; which proved fatal to both the combatants.

(7) The house-steward.

LADY RUSSELL TO LORD RUSSELL.

FROM 1678 TO 1681.

LETTER I. (1)

My sister (2) being here tells me she overheard you tell her Lord last night, that you would take notice of the business (you know what I mean) in the House (3): this alarms me, and I do earnestly beg of you to tell me truly if you have or mean to do it. If you do, I am most assured you will repent it. I beg once more to know the truth. It is more pain to be in doubt, and to your sister too; and if I have any interest, I use it to beg your silence in this case, at least to-day.

R. Russell.

March the — 1677-8,
while the House was sitting.

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(1) This is on half a sheet of paper, and folded as a note. The date at the bottom is in the hand-writing of Lord Russell.

(2) Lady Allington.

(3) On the 14th of March of this year, the House of Commons had resolved itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the state of the nation. The motion for this committee was made by Lord Russell in the following words: "I move that we may go "into a committee of the whole House, to consider of the sad and deplorable condition "we are in, and the apprehensions we are under of popery and a standing army, and "that we may consider of some way to save ourselves from ruin." *

Sir John Reresby mentions the great exertions made by the Court to resist these proceedings. It is probable that this note was meant to dissuade Lord Russell from making this motion, or perhaps from some other of a stronger nature on the same subject, in which she was successful. Lord Russell having kept this note, and endorsed it, with the time at which it came to his hands, proves the strong impression, which some circumstance about it, had made on his mind.

* See the New Parliamentary Register, vol. iv. p. 951.

LETTER II.

[*From Tunbridge Wells to London*, 1678.]

After a toilsome day, there is some refreshment to be telling our story to our best friends. I have seen your girl well laid in bed, and ourselves have made our suppers upon biscuits, a bottle of white wine, and another of beer, mingled my uncle's way, with nutmeg and sugar. None are disposing to bed, not so much as complaining of weariness. Beds and things are all very well here: our want is, yourself and good weather. But now I have told you our present condition: to say a little of the past,—I do really think, if I could have imagined the illness of the journey, it would have discouraged me: it is not to be expressed how bad the way is from Sevenoaks; but our horses did exceeding well, and Spencer, very diligent, often off his horse, to lay hold of the coach. I have not much more to say this night: I hope the quilt is remembered; and Frances must remember to send more biscuits, either when you come, or soon after. I long to hear from you, my dearest soul, and truly think your absence already an age. I have no mind to my gold plate: here is no table to set it on; but if that does not come, I desire you would bid Betty Foster (1) send the silver glass I use every day. In discretion I haste to bed, longing for Monday, I assure you. From your

Past ten o'clock. R. Russell.

Lady Margaret (2) says we are not glutted with company yet; you will let Northumberland (3) know we are well; and Allie. (4)

For the Lord Russell.

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(1) A house-maid.

(2) Lady Margaret Russell.

(3) The Countess of Northumberland, Lady Russell's sister.

(4) Lady Allington.

LETTER III.

[*From London to Woburn*, 1st *January*, 1679.

Tuesday, midnight.

I BEG thy leave, my only dear, by the way of refreshment, to tell you how I have spent the day: — I ate pudding with the girls, and then went and ate porridge and partridge with my sister; then sent for both misses to make their visit, dispatched them home, so proceeded to the work of the day; made a dozen visits, and concluded at Whitehall. I learnt nothing there, but that the Queen had cried heartily: her eyes made it very visible (1), yet she was very lively. She was at cards with Lady Sunderland (2) and Lady Betty Felton. (3) Lord Ossory (4) was there: he came on Saturday. I am told Sir William Temple will be the other Secretary, though some would have, (but cannot compass it,)

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(1) The nation was now involved in the disgraceful delusions of the popish plot. Oates and Bedloe had denounced the Queen as accessary to it, not six weeks before the date of this letter. A very sufficient reason for the state in which Lady Russell mentions having seen her.

(2) Anne Digby, daughter of George, Earl of Bristol, and wife of Robert, Earl of Sunderland, the son of Saccarissa. See frequent mention made of this lady in Evelyn's Diary.

(3) Lady Betty Felton was a daughter of James, Earl of Suffolk, married to Thomas Felton, Esq. Page of Honour to Charles II., and afterwards Sir Thomas Felton. See further mention of this lady in these letters.

(4) Thomas, Earl of Ossory, the accomplished son of the first Duke of Ormond, whose much-lamented death the following year extorted from his father the touching boast, that he would *rather have his dead son, than any living son in England.* He had been named Governor and General of the forces going to Tangiers to repair the losses sustained in a late attack from the Moors. But the best of the troops destined for this expedition having been afterwards withdrawn from his command, he seems to have anticipated the sacrifice of himself or his honour, in being sent with such an incompetent force. See an affecting account of his death, and the previous state of his mind, in Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 488.

Mr. Hyde (5): so Mr. Montagu told me at dinner. He had met Lord Aylesbury: he told him he came through Bedfordshire, and the two lords (6) he heard would be chosen. My Lord Aylesbury answered, he could not tell: they had taken a prejudice to his son, upon ill offices done him in the country; and all was for two votes, and they were but votes of civility. When I began, if I had remembered this would come the day you were going to your election indeed, when gone, I had been so much sooner in bed. Farewell for a while, my best life.

R. Russell.

Williamson (7) is married to Lady Catherine.

LETTER IV.

[*From London to Woburn, 4th January*, 1679.]

It is now between eleven and twelve o'clock; an hour, I guess, you are in full employment, and I at the most delightful I can choose, considering my present circumstances. If yours be not so

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(5) Lawrence Hyde, second son of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, afterwards Earl of Rochester. It was Sir Leoline Jenkins who was made Secretary of State on this occasion, and neither of the persons Lady Russell mentions.

(6) Lord Russell and Lord Bruce, eldest son of the Earl of Aylesbury. He had been member for the county of Bedford in the preceding Parliament; but was not now rechosen with Lord Russell, whose colleague, in 1679, was Sir Humphrey Monnoux. Lord Bruce is the same person who afterwards, as Earl of Aylesbury, was suspected of being an agent in the plots against King William. He retired to Brussels, where he established himself, and where he died in 1722.

(7) Sir Joseph Williamson. He had been Secretary of State in the year 1673. See an account of his birth and rise in public affairs under the protection of Lord Arlington in Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 442. He married Lady Catherine Obrian, widow of the Lord Obrian. She was sister to Charles Stuart, Duke of Richmond, the husband of *La belle Stuart* of the Memoirs of Grammont, by whom he had no children, so that his sister was his heir.

easy to-day (1), to-morrow, I hope, will make some amends; and by this day se'nnight, the remembrance of the toil past, and the expectation of the enjoyments at sweet Stratton, will recompense all. Your father sent me two letters to read this morning; one was Tom Gregory's (2), the other Lord Bolingbroke's (3) to him, with mighty compliments to you in it. Poor Lord Ailesbury had a doleful face yesterday (4), Lady Mary (5) told me. Since Tuesday night I heard nothing, but I will try this afternoon, add what I can get, but I would begin lest my time should be short in the evening. Mr. Montagu had a letter yesterday from the council-board to be there at his leisure, to see his cabinets opened; so to-morrow he goes. (6) I have sent you my sister's (*Lady Northumberland*) letter to read; the poor man is delivered out of a peck of troubles, one may perceive. I would not end this epistle till I had coasted the town for news, but I met none at home to furnish me with any; and being now at Montagu House, find as little there. Sir Robert (7) is in discontent to-day; and swears if he knew as much as he does to-day a fortnight ago, he would have been a parliament man, whatever it had cost him: he is out of favour, he says. Sir William Temple, it is believed, will be the other Secretary, and not Mr. Hide. To give you

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(1) The day of the election for Bedfordshire.

(2) A servant.

(3) Oliver St. John, Earl of Bolingbroke. The earldom became extinct in the person of Paulet St. John, his brother, who died unmarried in 1711.

(4) On account of his son's failure at the Bedfordshire election.

(5) Lady Mary Bruce, his daughter, afterwards married to Sir William Walter.

(6) Mr. Montagu's papers were searched by an order of council for his transactions, while ambassador in France, with the Lord Treasurer Danby, relative to the secret treaty. See Burnet's account of this affair, vol. ii. p. 217.

(7) Probably Sir Robert Worsley of Pilewell in Hampshire, her neighbour at Stratton.

all reports, my Lord Bath (8), they say, is to be treasurer; and some other remove, I heard, as not unlikely, but have forgot it; and here is such a buzz at cards, and with the child, that I can remember none; and to help, Mr. Stukely is come in. Your sister (9) is well, but I hear nothing of sister Alinton; their porter has been missed a week; they have changed the lock, and I hope take care; I send to them to know if they take care to watch, but I get no good answer; you know my concern. They will let me say no more; our girls are very well and good. I am, my Lord Russell's creature entirely,

Thursday night. R. Russell.

Williamson is gone with his lady into the country.

LETTER V.

[*From London to Basing, February*, 1679.]

Thursday, 7 o'clock.

I was very sorry to read any thing under your hand, written so late as I had one brought me to Montague House; but I heard yesterday morning, by a servant of my Lord Marquis, you got well to Teddington, so I hope you did to Basing (1), and our poor Stratton, and will by

(8) Sir John Granville, Earl of Bath: the same who had been the messenger between the King and Parliament at the time of the restoration. The appointment Lady Russell mentions as a report, did not take place; the treasury having been put in commission.

(9) Lady Margaret Russell.

(1) The seat of Charles Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, afterwards Duke of Bolton. This is the person of whom Sir John Reresby gives the following curious account the year before the Revolution. "In the midst of the impending dangers which seemed to threaten "us, there was a nobleman, the Marquis of Winchester, who had, by his conduct, per-"suaded some people to think him mad, though he certainly acted upon principles of great "human prudence. This gentleman passing through Yorkshire in his way to London, "I went to pay him a visit; he had four coaches and a hundred horses in his retinue, "and staid ten days at a house that he borrowed in our parts. His custom was to dine "at six or seven in the evening, and his meal always lasted till six or seven the next morn-"ing; during which he sometimes drank; sometimes he listened to music; sometimes he

Saturday night to the creature of the world that loves you best. I have lived as retired, since you went, as the severest and jealous husband could enjoin a wife: so that I am not fitted to entertain you with passages in the town, knowing no more how the world goes, than an Italian lady, they say, usually does. The weather has been of the worst kind here, continually either snow, hail, or high winds: God keep you from colds! I wish you may know when you are well, and not stir from my Lord Marquis, whose very humble servant I am, and must be the more so, because I think he is so kind to you, as that my Lord would willingly agree to my wish. (2) To take up as little of your time as I can, I have sent you my sister's letter to read; my answer to it you may guess at. I wrote at large what was said in my chamber: it might have been remembered, how you had accepted

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"fell into discourse; sometimes he took tobacco, and sometimes he ate his victuals; "while the company had free choice to sit or rise, to go or come, to sleep or not. The "dishes and bottles were all the time before them on the table; and when it was morning, "he would hunt or hawk, if the weather was fair; if not, he would dance, go to bed at "eleven, and repose himself till the evening. Notwithstanding this irregularity, he was "a man of great sense, and though, as I just now said, some took him for mad, it is "certain his meaning was to keep himself out of the way of more serious censure in "these ticklish days, and preserve his estate, which he took great care of." Reresby's Memoirs, p. 247.

It is certain that he was already at the time Sir John Reresby wrote, in correspondence with the Prince of Orange. See several of his letters in Dalrymple's Appendix, vol. ii.

(2) The following letter, written at this time from Basing, is among the very few, yet extant, from Lord Russell to his wife.

"Basing, February the 8th, 1678—9.

"I am stole from a great many gentlemen into the drawing-room at Basing, for a moment, to tell my dearest I have thought of her being here the last time, and wished for her a thousand times; but in vain, alas! for I am just going now to Stratton, and want the chariot, and my dearest dear in it. I hope to be with you on Saturday. We have had a very troublesome journey of it, and insignificant enough, by the fairness and excess of civility of somebody: —but more of that when I see you. I long for the time, and am, more than you can imagine, your "Russell.

"I am troubled at the weather for our own selves, but much more for my sister. Pray God it may have no ill effect upon her, and that we may have a happy meeting on Saturday. I am Miss's humble servant."

Bedfordshire, and the reports here of Sir Richard Knight, or such, being set up. If I had news, I should not be very ready to send it you, being sure my Lord Marquis would have it better expressed from several, therefore I have been the less inquisitive. My sister Northumberland had, last night, a letter from the Lady Northumberland (3); all the account she gives her, is, that if her grandchild (4) likes the addresses of my Lord Ogle better than any others, she shall accept them: this is the whole; for all the rest of the letter is some kind of notice how severe she hears she is against her in her ordinary discourse. My Lord Ogle is come to town for certain, I think.

Your aunt tells me your cousin Newport (5) will be chosen, it is declared; but she did not tell me how her lord took it. My sister was told yesterday Mr. Montague was off for standing knight of the shire, but was for some borough. Mr. —— (6) helps him too, and the election-day would be Saturday; but she knew nothing of this from him, or any thing else. Her little girl has been so ill two days, she feared the small-pox: I have not seen it, but she sent me word this morning Doctor Micklethwart thought it would prove an ague. Your sister is as well as is to be expected; but we hear nothing of Lady Die. Our small ones are as you left them, I praise God; miss writes and lays the letters by, that papa may admire them when he comes: it is a moment more wished for than to be expressed by all the eloquence I am mistress of, yet you know how much that is; but my dear abuser I love more than my life, and am entirely his

R. Russell.

Amongst letters were opened, there was some of Lord Marquis's and Lord Shaftesbury's, in all which they give their friends great

(3) Her mother-in-law.

(4) The Lady Elizabeth Percy, married, at twelve years old, to the Earl of Ogle. She was not, even at this age, on good terms with her mother, (Lady Russell's sister,) as appears by a letter from Lady Russell to Lady Ogle on her marriage, in this collection, dated April, 1679.

(5) Richard, son of Francis Lord Newport, by the Lady Diana Russell, an aunt of Lord Russell's.

(6) A name here in the MS. not to be decyphered.

caution not to choose fanatics, at which the King was much pleased, and said he had not heard so much good of them a great while. (7) This is a report: if I hear any other of any kind, I will send it from Montague House, whither I am going, and will not seal till I have been there: I know Lady Shaftesbury is there, my Lady Marquesse (8), &c. I am to play at beast (9) to-morrow, at Lady Shaftesbury's.

Lord Gray (10) says the Bedfordshire gentlemen are ready to break their hearts, that you are gone to Hampshire (11), and will leave them.

A near relation of Lady Catherine Obrian, says, this day, the marriage is owned with Williamson; he will be chosen at Queenborough. It seems he has, for some time past, given them plate for their church; so little Herbert will be to seek. It is for Nottingham, by Lord Manchester's interest, Mr. Montague stands.

LETTER VI.

[*From London to Woburn, February* 15. 1679.]

At dinner at Lord Shaftesbury's I received your letter, and found nothing in it that hindered my offering it him to read; he

(7) Lord Shaftesbury was made president of the council very soon after the date of this letter.

(8) The Marchioness of Winchester, second wife of the Marquis of Winchester above mentioned. The peerage calls her, the eldest natural daughter of Emanuel Scroop, Earl of Sunderland, and widow of Henry, second son of Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth. Emanuel Scroop, Earl of Sunderland, was the first and the last of his name who bore that title. The title of Marchioness was not yet in use. The wife of a *Marques* was then called a *Marquesse*.

(9) The name of a game at cards then much in fashion.

(10) Ford, Lord Grey, of Werke, married to Mary, fourth daughter of George, Earl Berkeley. His infamous amour and elopement with her sister, Lady Henrietta, did not take place till three years after this date.

(11) Lord Russell had been returned both for Bedfordshire and Hampshire, and finally made his election for Bedfordshire.

did so at the table, and some part of it to the company. Lord Wharton dined there, and Judge Ellis (1); Charlton, and Shaftesbury, conclude Beecher (2) will be the man. I wish the day over, but fear it is so likely to be a troublesome one, that I shall not see you so soon as my last desired; yet if it may be, I wish for it; the main reason is, to discourse something of that affair my uncle (*Ruvigny*) was on Sunday so long with me about. It is urged, and Your Lordship is thought a necessary person to advise with about it. (3) Your tasks are like to be difficult in town and country: I pray God direct your judgment in all your actions. I saw Sir Ieveril (4) at Lord Shaftesbury's, who told him my Lord Russell was a greater man than he, for he was but one knight, and Lord Russell would be two. Sir Ieveril answered, if it were in his power he should be a hundred. This is but one of many fine things I heard to-day, yet my heart thinks abundantly more due to my man. I write again in Northumberland's (5) chamber; and Mrs. Young is come in, who says Berry (6) is turned Protestant, and has confessed very much, and wrote a letter to the King that tells such things, Mr. Stanhope, who is at beast, says he dares not repeat it. Aunt Tresam loses, and bates me to end this. My love, I am in pain, till Tuesday is past, because

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(1) Sir William Ellis, a puisne judge of the Common Pleas.

(2) No one of the name of Beecher was elected into this parliament.

(3) This may probably allude to the Exclusion Bill, whose progress was only postponed by the prorogation and subsequent dissolution of this parliament, which, having met in March, was dissolved in May of the same year. The Exclusion Bill was resumed with fresh spirit by Lord Russell and his friends in the ensuing parliament, which met in October, 1680.

(4) This name is here printed from the spelling of the MS., but the editor neither knows the name as it stands, nor for whom it is meant.

(5) Her sister.

(6) Henry Berry, one of the three persons who had been convicted of the murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey. The report Lady Russell here mentions on this subject was quite false, for he and his two associates, Green and Hill, were executed on the 21st of this month, denying the fact for which they suffered to the last.

I am sure you must have a great deal. I am, to the last minute of my life, your most obedient wife,

R. Russell.

Saturday night.

Your sister rose to day. My best service to brother James. I sent your letter to Lord Bedford.

For the Lord Russell, at Woburn Abbey, in Bedfordshire, to be left with the Postmaster at Brick-hill.

LETTER VII.

[*From London to Bedfordshire, September*, 1679.]

I suppose John will have told you we are all well, so that you will not be surprised upon that account, but the cause of his errand you will. I made bold to open your letter, curiosity inviting me: I know not how you are to behave yourself, but I should think now you are chosen, you cannot be chosen again. I write this at Lady Allington's, who is ill a-bed of a cold, only I hope you may guess by my writing, what pains I take to do it. (1) My sister Northumberland tells me the King missed his fit. (2) I hear not one earthly word of news; but I know I am entirely my Lord Russell's

R. Russell.

My Lord Allington says you may stand in Bedfordshire, and not decline till a fortnight after the House sits, he believes. He says, if you are chosen in Bedfordshire, and so decline Hampshire, he fancies my brother (3) must have it, for he has one voice more than Sir Richard Knight.

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(1) The writing is with a very bad pen, on a scrap of paper.

(2) This was the King's ague, in Sept. 1679, which brought the Duke of York, unasked, in a hurry, from Bruxelles, changed the King's counsels, and caused the prorogation of the parliament, for which the elections were then making.

(3) The Honorable Edward Noel, married to Lady Russell's sister. He was member for the county of Hampshire in this parliament, with Richard Norton Esquire.

LETTER VIII.

[*From London to Stratton, April* 3. 1680.]

To be absent from the best and most loved thing and friend in the world, and now, I may almost say, the only one I have in it, must cause some alteration in a person sensible of her condition; but for any other, I praise God I can complain of none. I have kept close to my easy chair this very ill stormy day; but been uneasy in my thoughts for the two travellers. God grant you keep from cold, and preserve you from all other ills! I have staid till past eight, to get news, and now Lady Southampton and Mr. Darcy (1) is come in, so I must shorten my converse with my best and only true joy. Charlton is, I believe, out of town, and so is all the world to me, I think, for I have seen nobody but your father and brother Ned: all I can hear is, the King has forbid the Duke of Monmouth to see Nell (*Nell Gwynne*); that is, I should say Nelly to see him. The Princess of Orange is not likely to last long, as is said. Lady Inchequin (2) was here last night: she meant to go to-day, and get a doctor to go with her. There is a report that the witness whom they secured about this Irish plot is got away: this is our neighbours' news, Lady Southampton brought it. I hope, by Tuesday, to do better things. Our girls are, I hope, as well as you can wish them. The widow (3) and I are going to a partridge and Woburn rabbits. My sister Allington is not very well yet, but no fear, I hope, of miscarrying. Good night, my dearest love, I am inviolably yours,

R. Russell.

April 3. 1680.

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(1) Conyers Darcy, son of Lord Darcy and Conyers. He was married to Lady Southampton, the widow of Lady Russell's father. He was himself created Earl of Holdernesse in 1682.

(2) Lady Inchequin was a daughter of George Lord Chandos, and widow of Edward Lord Herbert, of Chirbury. She was the only English woman of quality who accompanied the Princess of Orange to Holland on her marriage. This account of the Princess's health was one of the many false reports of the day.

(3) Probably a Mrs. Tresam, mentioned more than once in these letters, by the name of "Aunt Tresam."

LETTER IX.

[*From London to Stratton*, 1680.]

Ten o'clock, Sunday night.

My thoughts being ever best pleased when I, in some kind or other, entertain myself with the dearest of men, you may be sure I do most willingly prepare this for Mr. Chandler. If I do hear to-morrow from you, it will be a great pleasure to know you got well to Stratton, though I fear for you every day, knowing you will frisk out abroad. Mr. James, (*Russell*,) I hope, airs your rooms well with good fires. Your father sighs with the prospect of his journey. Mrs. Herbert, the doctors conclude, cannot live: Scarborough (1) only has some hopes: he is now called in. Mr. Montague was to see her, and says she is as her sister Denham (2) was. The Lord Shrewsbury (3) is like to lose both eyes. It is very true, the gentleman that was put into the messenger's hands, is gone; but, as I have it from a privy counsellor, he was first put there, by his own desires, for safety, pretending fear of his life, but is now sent into Ireland with the messenger, as I gather, to be hanged for other crimes, he being, as my author has it, the greatest

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(1) Sir Charles Scarborough, first physician to Charles the Second.

(2) Lady Denham was a Miss Brooke, married to Sir John Denham the poet, author of Cooper's Hill. Her portrait is among the beauties at Windsor, and her history among the heroines of the Memoirs de Gramont. The story there mentioned of her being poisoned, is repeated in Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Persons, but with another version. Both reports were probably false, as Lady Russell here speaks of Lady Denham's sister, Mrs. Herbert, dying *in the same way*, and *she* was not poisoned also, either by the jealousy of her husband, or by that of the Countess of Rochester. See Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Persons, &c. vol. ii. p. 319.

(3) Charles Talbot, afterwards Duke of Shrewsbury, son to the Earl of Shrewsbury, killed in a duel by the Duke of Buckingham.

rogue alive, and witnessed to be so, by a man Lord Essex (4) brought to see him, who he was confident must know him, and so he did, saying he would not, for a world, be one hour alone with him, so dangerous a man he was; at which character Lord Essex was much confounded, having appeared so much before for him, and seemed to credit his informations. Another witness, he named, is sent for out of Ireland, who is in gaol for horrid crimes: they are both Tories, so was the fellow they pretend was poisoned, another villain also, for this person Lord Essex brought knows them all: this man was kept so private, none ever saw him since the messenger took him, but themselves, nor know what is become of him, but those so happily informed as myself. A lady out of the city told me it is certain there was before the Mayor yesterday examinations of some apprentices concerning a new plot (5), and that five did take their oaths, it was to put the lords out of the Tower, and burn them and the Duchess of Portsmouth together: this is the latest design I hear of: if any other discoveries be made between this and Tuesday night, I hope I shall not fail to be your informer, and after that, that you will quickly be mine again: I long for it truly my dear. Lady Southampton was to see the Marquesse of Winchester to-day: she says her lord will try how Bourbon waters agree with him before she goes: so my Lady is to follow: she wants to go with him, she says; I know who could not be so shook off. Now they say, none must come to court that sees the Duke of Monmouth. The dinner at the club in the city has more angered the King than any thing yet. Mr. Craford has stole a young woman worth 2000l. out of a window. Her mother had employed him to persuade her against a match she was not willing to consent to, and so he did, most effectually. Miss says she means to write herself, so I have no messages; but she knows

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(4) Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, he who perished in the Tower by his own hand, on the very day, and during the time of Lord Russell's trial. He had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and had returned from thence this year.

(5) Called (in that plotting age) the *Prentices Plot.* The Lords in the Tower were Earl Powis, Viscount Stafford, Lord Arundel of Wardour, and Lord Bellasis.

not, I think, of this express, for truly, I had forgot it till, as I supped, they remembered me. I am so well pleased to be alone, and scribbling, that I never consider the matter. Pardon, my dear love, (as you have a thousand other failings,) all the nonsense of this, and accept the passionate, kind intentions of your

R. RUSSELL.

The painting cannot be done till Wednesday: he can get no men to work. Lady Die is pretty well, they send me word from her house. Lauderdale (6) is only troubled with rheumatism. It is so cold, I stirred not to-day to chapel.

LETTER X.

[*From London to Stratton*, 1680.]

I HAVE thought the day long, because I could never be alone to entertain myself, as I had most mind to do. I have now only Lady Margaret (1) left, who is so kind as to stay and eat a Woburn rabbit with me; and I believe they are just coming up, and it is nine o'clock; yet I must tell my joy I received his, and am glad to find Mr. James (*Russell*) is so very well accommodated for the weather, and so delighted with the country, and so much in the air, without caring for hat or periwig on his head. All the talk is, the Duke of Monmouth is to be sent for to appear at council; great talk of his raising a regiment; letters taken, and witnesses to prove. I was told this evening there would be some discourses to-morrow at council about

(6) The Duke of Lauderdale, the tyrannical and worthless administrator of the affairs of Scotland during the greatest part of the reign of Charles the Second. See Burnet's History of his Own Times, passim.

(1) Lady Margaret Russell.

this, and perhaps he might appear though not sent for. Lord Cavendish (2) is not to be admitted to Nell Gwynne's house, nor Mr. Thynne. (3) Lady Ann Barrington (4), about ten days ago, left her husband a letter to tell him she was gone to a fine place, where she should be very well pleased: his house was so dirty she could not endure it longer; so was not heard of till yesterday. She came home again, her sister was so afflicted, that a child dying, and another near it, was, she professed, the less affliction. Remembering no more tattle, and being nine o'clock, I take my leave, hoping to see your dear person in a few days. I am yours, as I should be,

R. Russell.

For the Lord Russell.

LETTER XI.

[*From London to Stratton, June* 12. 1680.]

My dearest heart, flesh and blood cannot have a truer and greater sense of their own happiness than your poor but honest wife has. I am glad you find Stratton so sweet; may you live to do so one fifty years more; and, if God pleases, I shall be glad I may keep your company most of those years, unless you wish other at any time;

(2) William, first Duke of Devonshire, the spirited friend of Lord Russell. See various anecdotes of his early life at this period, in the letters of Lady Sunderland in this collection.

(3) Thomas Thynne, of Longleat, the same person who became the second husband of Lady Ogle, within a twelvemonth after the date of this letter, and who on her account (as it was supposed) was assassinated in his coach in Pall Mall, February, 1682, by Count Koningsmarck, and three foreigners under his orders. See a detailed account of the whole of this transaction in Reresby's Memoirs, p. 135.

(4) Lady Anne Barrington was a daughter of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick and Holland, (the son of the Parliament's Admiral in the great rebellion). She married Sir John Barrington, of Barrington Hall, in Essex.

then I think I could willingly leave all in the world, knowing you would take care of our brats: they are both well, and your great one's letter she hopes came to you. Charlton dined at Lord Leicester's (1) to-day with the great men, yet brings no news. The three chits go down to Althorpe, if they can be spared. There is great talk of a new plot. Duke Monmouth, Lord Shaftesbury, and many concerned. Lord Essex named one: in a few days we shall know what can be made out. Sister Northumberland and Lady Mary are here, and also Charlton; so that the chat is not in a low voice; and they stay to call for ombra, a less pleasing exercise; I hope you think it is to your ever obedient and affectionate wife,

R. Russell.

Saturday night.

For the Lord Russell, at Stratton, Hampshire, to be left at Alsford, with the Postmaster there.

LETTER XII.

[*From London to Stratton*, 1680.]

The sadness of the weather and the remembrance of Blackwater, makes me very solicitous to read your letter of Friday: I hope it will bring no worse news than I send, your girls and your wife being as well as my best love left them, I praise God. Little Kate (2)

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(1) Philip Earl of Leicester, the eldest brother of Algernon, Henry, and Robert Sydney, and of Lady Sunderland (Saccarissa). He married a daughter of the Earl of Salisbury's, and had three children, who may probably be the "*three Chits*" here mentioned as going down to Althorpe, the seat of their first cousin the Earl of Sunderland, Saccarissa's son.

(2) Their second daughter, afterwards Duchess of Rutland.

takes her journey often to papa, but the other keeps her cares in her breast. My sister Northumberland and aunt Tresam dined at Charlton's to-day. The first meaning was to carry Lady Mary so far towards Derbyshire, but the water is too high for her to pass; so she comes back with them, and that may be a pretence for another dinner, if he pleases. I believe there is no other news but the inclosed; for Mr. Montague was here this afternoon, and sat an hour by Lord Shaftesbury and I, and nothing could I learn of him. Several of the council went down to day to Windsor, in order to to-morrow's business. Most say a parliament will sit (3); some, the league is conditional it should do so. Lord Radnor (4) was sent for on Sunday to the council, but he said he must serve God before the King, and desired to be excused, as my author says. Lord Rochester has converted his wife (5): she received the sacrament on Whitsunday, and is a mighty penitent at present; himself I mean. I wish your business so soon dispatched, that I will not take more of your time than is just necessary to tell you, you have a loving creature of your

R. Russell.

LETTER XIII.

[*From London to Stratton*, 1680.]

Saturday night.

These are the pleasing moments, in absence my dearest blessing, either to read something from you or be writing something to you;

(3) It did not meet till the 21st October of this year.

(4) Robartes, Earl of Radnor. He had been made president of the council on the dismissal of the Earl of Shaftesbury in October, 1679.

(5) John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, was married to Elizabeth Mallet, daughter of J. Mallet, Esq. of Enmore, in the county of Somerset.

yet I never do it but I am touched with a sensible regret, that I cannot pour out in words what my heart is so big with, which is much more just to your dear self (in a passionate return of love and gratitude) than I can tell you; but it is not my talent; and so I hope not a necessary signification of the truth of it; at least not thought so by you. I hear you had the opportunity of making your court handsomely at Bagshot (1), if you had had the grace to have taken the good fortune offered. The Lord Pembroke is glad to keep out of sight at present (2), though I was told the Lord Dunbarton says, he did no more than a man of honour ought to have done. As I was writing as much as I knew of the story, my sister sends me the print. (3) I present it to Mr. James. (4) It was Lord Colchester (5) helped to get him off, as they say. Bedloe (6) is believed to be dead at Bristol of a fever. I am told that (7) Jenks; you must guess who I mean, I know not how to spell it, it is Buckingham's creature; that he had yesterday a letter from Bristol, informing him that in his sickness, Bedloe sent for Sir John Knight, a parliament man (8), and told him he was likely to die; if he should,

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(1) This must have been to the Duke of York, then resident there, for she afterwards mentions the King as being at Windsor.

(2) Lord Pembroke had been committed to the Tower the year before, for some insult offered to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church. He had likewise been tried in 1678, for the murder of Nathaniel Coney, but was brought in guilty only of manslaughter. See State Trials. The Editor knows not if the story to which Lady Russell alludes is connected with either of these circumstances.

(3) She means a newspaper, or a printed account of this adventure, whatever it might be.

(4) Mr. James Russell, Lord Russell's brother.

(5) Thomas Lord Colchester, eldest son of Thomas Savage, Earl of Rivers, who died in his father's lifetime.

(6) Bedloe was the colleague of the infamous Titus Oates, in the accusations of the Popish plot.

(7) Probably Sir Leoline Jenkins, who in the beginning of this year had been made Secretary of State in the place of Mr. Henry Coventry.

(8) He was member for Bristol.

he did there declare, all the evidence he had given was true: he had more to say to him, but was faint then; so Sir Knight left him, and about four hours after came again, and told him there was a privy councillor in town: it might do very well he would say to him what he had more to say. Bedloe consented, and North was brought, though unwilling to come at first; so Sir John Knight withdrew, and North (9) and his clerk being only present, took his words, and then sealed up the paper. This is the story as I have it, and those who told it are confident there is truth in it. Your father writes me word, he had above twenty knights and gentlemen dined with him, and your health was heartily drank. The King is very well at Windsor, as the inclosed will certify you (10), if you can bestow time to read it. I care not to write a story out of it, so I send it. They say I shall be too late; yet I took to this exercise as soon as I could get from eating boiled oysters with Mr. Darcy; but I leave writing to Woburn also, so cannot lengthen this short epistle, from yours, entirely,

R. Russell.

Lady Ogle is well of the measles. Bethell (11) has dined at Copt-Hall, and professed he did not find courtiers such bugbears as some would have them; so that possibly it is hoped in time he may understand himself.

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(9) Sir Francis North, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, afterwards Lord Keeper.

(10) A newspaper or letter, which is not to be found.

(11) Slingeley Bethell, who with Alderman Comish were sheriffs of London this year. See Lady Sunderland's letters, No. 6. Copt-Hall was then inhabited by Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset.

LETTER XIV.

[*From London to Woburn, August* 24. 1680.]

ABSENT or present, my dearest life is equally obliging, and ever the earthly delight of my soul, it is my great care (or ought to be so) so to moderate my sense of happiness here, that when the appointed time comes of my leaving it, or its leaving me, I may not be unwilling to forsake the one, or be in some measure prepared and fit to bear the trial of the other. This very hot weather does incommode me, but otherwise I am very well, and both your girls. Your letter was cherished as it deserved, and so, I make no doubt, was hers, which she took very ill I should suspect she was directed in, as truly I thought she was, the fancy was so pretty. I have a letter about the buck, as usual, from St. Giles's (1); but when you come up, I suppose it will be time enough to give order: the 1st of September is the day they desire it. Coming so lately from St. Giles's, I am not solicitous for news for you, especially Sir Harry Capel (2) being to see Your Lordship to-morrow; and the greatest discourse we have is, (next to Bedloe's affidavit,) Tongue's accusing Lord Essex, Lord Shaftesbury, and Lord Wharton, for the contrivers of the plot, and setting his father and Oates to act their parts; this was told me by a black-coat made me a visit yesterday, but I hear it by nobody else. My sister and Lady Inchiquin are coming, so that I must leave a better diver-

(1) The seat of the Earl of Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire.

(2) Brother to Arthur, Earl of Essex. He was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles II., and was afterwards created a Baron by the title of Lord Capel of Tewkesbury.

sion for a worse, but my thoughts often return where all my delight is. I am yours entirely

R. Russell.

They say Lord Pembroke is at Paris. Sir John Curiton is dead: Master Charlton knows him. You may tell him his lady is well, sitting by me. His son is come this morning from Tunbridge. He says the waters agree to a miracle with Mr. Montague: he comes back on Saturday. Chief Justice North sent up Bedloe's affidavit to the Council; but Lord Bath says it was no more but to confirm what he had evidenced in his life, though others will not believe it. My sister and Lady Inchiquin are just come from Bartholomew fair (3), and stored us all with fairings.

LETTER XV.

[*From London to Woburn, September* 17. 1680.]

Those moments of true pleasure, I proposed at the opening of your letter, were hugely disappointed; first, when I found less than one, would dispatch in the reading of it; and secondly, yet more, that I could not prolong my delight as usual, by reflections on those expressions I receive as the joy of my unworthy life, which can never be very miserable in any accident of it, whilst my affectionate heart can think you mine, as I do now. But your head-ache over night, and a dinner at Bedford next day, gives me more than ordinary longings for a new report of your health, in this crazy time. The maid, in our house died last night. Poor Lord Shaftesbury continues ill. As I was at dinner yesterday, the doctor coming to

(3) Bartholomew Fair was, in these days, we see, visited by the first company in London.

the maid, was sent for to him, so I did not see him, to enquire what he thought of him; though I fancy it was the first time he had been sent for, and so he knew nothing of his condition. I doubt he had a double fit yesterday, as I can understand by messages. He has taken the Jesuits' powder five times since yesterday morning. Lord Halifax (1) came to town on Thursday, and next morning his coach stood at Sir Thomas Chitchley's. (2) The town says he is to hear all sides, and then choose wisely. He kissed the Duchess's (*Portsmouth*) hand last night; and she is gone this morning to tell the news at Newmarket. (3) My brother James walked over to-day to show me how fair he looks, now he has a swelled face; but talks of Woburn on Monday, hating the place he has been sick in. Lady Newport, my sister Allington tells me, is ill: was taken with a coldness in her head, and drowsiness; but was better to day, and talks cheerfully. Lord Lauderdale, it is plain, his humble servants say, is not out of favour, but, being weary of business, transfers it to a son-in-law. My sister Allington desires you to bring her some larks from Dunstable. I forgot to send her of mine; so have not confessed I had any, unless she hears otherwise of them. Sir John Barnardiston (4) at Hackney, that was cut for the stone, is dead. Dispose, I beseech you, of my duty and service, and all other ways, as you please, in all particulars, of your ever faithful, obedient, passionately affectionate wife,

R. Russell.

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(1) George Saville, Earl and afterwards Marquis of Halifax. He had married Lord Sunderland's sister, the daughter of Saccarissa. See her letters addressed to him, in this collection.

(2) Sir Thomas Chickley was married to Lord Halifax's mother. He was member for the town of Cambridge.

(3) To the King, who was there.

(4) Father to Sir Samuel Barnardiston, who was tried in 1684, for sedition, and fined ten thousand pounds, for writing four private letters, in which the execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney was commented on, and blamed.

Sidney (5) is come: he says Duke of Hanover (6) is coming over to take our Lady Anne away. I hear he runs high in his discourse, what a brother, so provoked, may be induced to do. The Duchess (*of York*) is to have three new maids, Miss Watts, Miss Falbrey, and one Miss Len, a niece of Lady Pulteney's; and the Duke must give 200l. a year a piece.

Mrs. Cellier (7) stood this day in the pillory, but her head was not put in the hole, but defended one side of her head, as a kind of battledore did the other, which she held in her hand. All the stones that were thrown within reach, she took up and put in her pocket.

My sister Northumberland's intelligence is, that Madame de Soissons (8) has won millions at play of the Jews at Amsterdam.

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(5) Henry Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney. A younger brother of Algernoon Sidney's. He was now returned from Holland, where he had been minister. What the provocation here alluded to is not clear. Algernoon Sidney had received the King's pardon and permission to return to England in 1677. He had since twice lost his election for a seat in the House of Commons, by the opposition of the Court, and had attached himself to that party, who, unfortunately for themselves, had allowed the Duke of Monmouth to rank himself among them. The "discourse" of Henry Sidney seems to allude to what his brother Algernoon "so provoked," not himself, "might be induced to do. Or whether the provocation was Henry Sidney's at the opposition of the Court to his brother's elections, and the evil eye with which he was considered, or at Algernoon's still associating with a suspected party, seems doubtful. See Lady Sunderland's letters in this collection.

(6) Afterwards George the First. He came to England in December of this year, with an intention, as it seems, of marrying the "Lady," afterwards Queen "Anne."

(7) Mrs. Cellier, a midwife, of the Roman Catholic religion. A woman of some cleverness, but of very bad character. She had been charged, in the preceding year, with being concerned in the Popish Plot, but was acquitted; and her accuser, Dangerfield, committed to prison. She had been now convicted of the publication of a libel, called "*Malice defeated;*" and was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, and fined a thousand pounds.

(8) Olympia Mancini, Comtesse de Soissons, sister to Madame de Mazarin, and mother to Prince Eugene. She had fled from France the January of this year, being implicated in the affair of La Voison's poisonings. She was *decrêtée de prise du corps*, by the tribunals of Paris, and never returned to France, living afterwards at Bruxelles. Madame de Sevigné gives the following account of her sudden disappearance from a sup-

She says, also, that Lady Halifax (9) has lost no beauty in the country, and takes particular care you may know it. Mrs. Lawson is coming up again; so that there is great strife likely to be between her and your cousin Howard of Escrick.

They say this young Hanover is one of the handsomest and best bred men of the age: spends now in the academy twenty thousand pounds a year.

Do not forget the larks.

LETTER XVI.

[*From Stratton to London, during the sitting of Parliament,* 1680.]

Stratton, Thursday night.

SENDING your victuals by the higler, I take the same opportunity to let my dearest know I have his by the coach, and do humbly and

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per at her own house at Paris, together with another woman of fashion, accused of the same crime.

" Pour Madame la Comtesse de Soissons elle n'a pu envisager la prison; on a bien " voulu lui donner le tems de s'enfuir; si elle est coupable. Elle jouoit à la bassette " Mercredi: M. de Bouillon entra; il la pria de passer dans son cabinet, et lui dit qu'il " falloit sortir de France, ou aller à la Bastille elle ne balança point; elle fit sortir du jeu " la Marquise d'Alluie; elles ne parurent plus. L'heure du souper vint; on dit que la " Comtesse soupoit en ville: tout le monde s'en alla, persuadé de quelque chose d'extraor- " dinaire. Cependant on fit beaucoup de paquets, on prit de l'argent, des pierreries; on " fit prendre des justaucorps gris aux laquais, aux cochers; on fit mettre huit cheveaux " au carosse. Elle fit placer aupres d'elle dans le fond la Marquise d'Alluie qu'on dit " qui ne vouloit pas aller, et deux femmes de chambre sur le devant. Elle dit à ses " gens qu'ils ne se missent point en peine d'elle, qu'elle étoit innocente: mais que ces " coquines de femmes avoient pris plaisir à la nommer: elle pleura: elle passa chez " Madame de Carignan, et sortit de Paris à trois heures du matin." *Lettres de Madame de Sevigné,* vol. v. p. 53. Grouvelle's edition.

(9) Lord Halifax's second wife, the lady here mentioned was Gertrude, daughter of William Pierpont, second son of the Earl of Kingston.

heartily praise my God for the refreshing news of his being well: yet you do not in words tell me if you are very well; and your going to the House tells no more than that your are not very ill. If your nose bleeds as it did, pray let me beg of you to give yourself time to bleed in the arm. My heart, be assured, mine is not easy, till I am where you are; therefore send us a coach as soon as you can: it shall find us ready whenever it comes, if God bless us to be well. I wrote more fully to this purpose in the morning, only I am willing to hint it again, in case of its miscarriage. I have sent up one maid this day, and on Monday all follow. It seems to me the ladies at Petworth (1) are as particular to the Marquis as they were to the Duke before; but the wondrous things he tells, I may aim at, but shall never guess, nor care to do it; or any thing else, but to move towards London, and meet my better life, as I wish to see him, well and mine, as I am his, and so to be to an old age; but above all, praying for hearts and minds fitly disposed to submit to the wise and merciful dispensations of the great God. I mean to keep your friend Chesterfield's (2) letter; and hope you will make good his character in all accidents of your life. From the sharpest trials good Lord pre-

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(1) "The ladies at Petworth" were probably the Countess of Northumberland (Lady Russell's sister), her daughter, Lady Ogle, and her mother-in-law, the elder Countess Dowager of Northumberland, sister to the Earl of Suffolk.

(2) Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, whose son afterwards married a daughter of Lord Halifax's by his second wife, who was mother to the Lord Chesterfield, the author of the Letters to his Son.

The letter here mentioned is not to be found, but the following letter from the same correspondent to Lord Russell, of a much earlier date, appears to the Editor worth preserving.

"June the 7th, Bretby, 1673.

"Since nothing can give me greater satisfaction than the testimonies of your kindness, I think I need not tell you, how much you obliged me by the favour of your last letter, which as at first it gave me great concern for your indisposition, so the latter part dissipated that trouble, by the assurance of your perfect recovery, and brought me the relation of our engagement with the Dutch, which I hear since was much to the advantage of His Majesty's navy, I cannot say of England, since many judicious persons, who love both

serve us, if it may be. I guess my lord will be soon in town; pray present my duty to him. Our girls are very well: we were altogether at the farm-house this day. They are plastering the granary. Pray keep good hours, and take care of (3) —— hackney coaches. Believe me your obedient wife,

R. Russell.

LETTER XVII.

[*From London to Woburn, February*, 1680.]

Tuesday night.

Since you resolve not to be here till Thursday, this may come time enough to tell you we are all well; and I will say little more, guessing this as likely to miss of coming to your hands, as to be read by you, since I hope you lie at Dunstable to-morrow. I shall defer answering any particular of your last till we meet, and then shall fail, I doubt, of my part in some; but it will be by my incapacity, who can never be what I should or would to my best and dearest life: but I ever will submit. I saw Lord Bedford to-day at

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their king and country, do apprehend the ruin of our enemies, likely to prove fatal to ourselves; but I hope this is a vulgar error: however, I am sure it is no ill prayer to desire God to grant us what is necessary for us, since he knows better than we that ask. Possibly, this ejaculation may surprise you; but, dear friend, if the country *, a wet summer, and the being forty years old, does not mortify a man, he must be of a much stronger constitution than is, Sir,

" Your most faithful, and ever humble Servant,

" Chesterfield.

" Pray let my obedient service be presented to the Lady Vaughan."

(3) A word in the MS. not to be decyphered.

* See the reasons assigned for his retreat into the country, in the *Memoirs de Gramont.*

Southampton House. Lord Essex has lost his youngest son. The match is concluded with our Madame (1) in France, and the King of Spain, as Lady Newport says. I am in a little haste, and am content to be so, because I think what I have said is to no purpose: but I defy Lord Russell to wish for Thursday with more joy and passion; and will make him own he has a thousand times less reason to do so than has his

R. Russell.

For the Lord Russell, at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire.
To be left with the Postmaster at Brick-hill.

LETTER XVIII.

[*From London to Woburn, 6th September,* 1680.]

My girls and I being just risen from dinner, Miss Rachael followed me into my chamber, and seeing me take the pen and ink, asked me what I was going to do. I told her I was going to write to her papa. 'So will I,' said she; 'and while you write, I will think what I have to say;' and truly, before I could write one word, she came and told me she had done; so I set down her words; and she is hard at the business, as I am not, one would conclude, by the pertinence of this beginning: but my dear man has taken me for better and worse in all conditions, and knows my soul to him; so expressions are but a pleasure to myself, not him, who believes better things of me than my ill rhetoric will induce him to by my words. To this minute I am not one jot wiser as to intelligence, (whatever other im-

(1) "Our Madame," must mean the infant daughter of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans; then about seven or eight years old.

provements my study has made me,) but I hope the afternoon's conversation will better me that way. Lady Shaftesbury sends me word, if her lord continues as well as he was this morning, I shall see her; and my sister was visiting yesterday. I will suck the honey from them all if they will be communicative. I have not seen Allington. Mr. James had a gentle fit, no cold, and is pretty well to-day, if it holds he sends me word. Pray talk of his nurse, that she that is, may not be thought the occasion of my not liking her. I have staid till Mr. Cheeke (1) is come in, and he helps me to nothing but a few half crowns, I expect, at back-gammon; unless he may read my letter, he vows he would tell me none, if he knew any; and doubting it is not worth his perusal, I hasten to shut it up. Lord Shaftesbury was alone, so his lady came not. I hear my sister and Lady Harvey went thither this afternoon; but she has not called here to-night. Your birds came safe to feast us to-morrow. I am yours, my dear love,

R. Russell.

For the Lord Russell, at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire; to be left at Brick-hill.

LETTER XIX.

[*From London to Stratton, about February,* 1681.]

From the opinion I have, that Lord Russell is a very sincere person, I am very well pleased with all the parts of his letter, that he came in good time to his inn, and had really such kind reflections as he tells me of. I hope we shall enjoy those dozen years he speaks

(1) A son of Sir Thomas Cheeke. He was married to a daughter of Philip Sidney, Earl of Leicester.

of, and cannot forbear wishing to double them: as one pleasure passes, I doubt not, but we shall find new ones; our nursery will help to furnish us; it is in good order, I thank God. Your father came this morning, and gave me the report of Devonshire elections. Sir William Courtney and Rolle carried it without polling: my brother Robert (1) says they joined, but sister Allington says Partridge has lost it by three or four hundred voices. Cotton and the other carried it; Russell lost it. (2) In Middlesex Ranton and Roberts have (3) it. Lord Suffolk had a letter sent him, to let him know he need not wait: they sent it at eleven o'clock at night. Lord Manchester's (4) was sent into the country to him. Lord Aylesbury acts as Lord Lieutenant in Huntingdonshire, for the Lord Sandwich (5); so does my Lord Chamberlain (6), for the Duke of Grafton, in Suffolk. And, at last, Lord

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(1) The Hon. Robert Russell, one of the brothers of Lord Russell.

(2) For the county of Cambridge. The sitting members in this parliament were Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Levinz Bennet. Those of the preceding parliament had been Ferdinand Russell and Edward Patrick, Esquires.

(3) Nicolas Ranton and Sir William Robertes.

(4) The Earl of Manchester had been Lord Chamberlain to the King, and seems to have been sent to Lord Suffolk, to explain or modify the letter he had received to dispense with his coming into waiting as Lord of the bed-chamber to the King.

(5) Lord Sandwich was a minor; the son of Edward Earl of Sandwich, who was blown up with his ship in the engagement with the Dutch fleet, 28th May, 1672. See Evelyn's Diary, for his account of that transaction, and for Lord Sandwich's character, vol. i. p. 430.

(6) The Earl of Arlington. The Duke of Grafton was his son-in-law; his only child, the Lady Isabella Bennet, having been married, at five years old, to the Duke of Grafton, (son of the King and of the Duchess of Cleveland,) at eight years old. See Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 432., who was present at this first marriage, and likewise at a second marriage, which took place between them in the year 1679, which he thus describes: —"6th No-"vember, 1679. Dined at the Countess of Sunderland's; and was this evening at the "re-marriage of the Duchess of Grafton to the Duke, (his Majesty's natural son,) she being "now twelve years old. The ceremony was performed in my Lord Chamberlain's (her "father's) lodgings at Whitehall, by the Bishop of Rochester, his Majesty present. A "sudden and unexpected thing, when every body believed the first marriage would have "come to nothing; but the measure being determined, I was privately invited by my "Lady her mother to be present. I confess I could give her little joy, and so I plainly

Allington owns he is for Cambridgeshire, which, with the King's orders to stay at the Tower, when the Parliament sits at Oxford, put him in very good humour on Thursday last. I have not seen Charlton since you went. Your own story of thieves, and so many as we hear of every day, makes me very desirous of your being at poor Southampton-house again, in the arms of your

R. RUSSELL.

For the Lord Russell.

" told her; but she said the King would have it so, and there was no going back. This " sweetest, hopefullest, most beautiful child, was sacrificed to a boy that had been rudely " bred, without any thing to encourage them but his Majesty's pleasure. I pray God " the sweet child find it to her advantage; who, if my augury deceive me not, will in a " few years be such a paragon, as were fit to make the wife of the greatest Prince in " Europe. I staid supper, where his Majesty sate between the Duchess of Cleveland, " (the mother of the Duke of Grafton,) and the sweet Duchess the bride: there were " several great persons and ladies present, without pomp. My love to my Lord Arling- " ton's family and the sweet child made me behold all this with regret; though as the " Duke of Grafton affects the sea, to which I find his father intends to use him, he may " emerge a plain, useful, and robust officer; and, were he polished, a tolerable person, " for he is exceeding handsome, by far surpassing any of the King's other natural issue."

In a fragment of a letter from Lord Russell to his wife, he says, " Lord Sunderland, I " am told, exclaims openly of my Lord Arlington, and says, he had his promise for his " daughter's marrying of his son." It would seem, there were other pretenders to this infant heiress, by the following mention made of her in Cartes' Extracts from the Life of James II., published in Macpherson's State Papers: —

July 13. 1672. " Buckingham proposed to the King, if he would break off the mar- " riage with Lord Harry (*created Duke of Grafton in* 1677) and Arlington's daughter, to " get Lady Percy (*Lady Elizabeth Percy*) for Lord Harry. The King answered that it " was too late, the other being concluded. Buckingham, at the same time, offered to the " Countess of Northumberland, (*Lady Russell's sister*,) to get the King to consent, " that he should command the Duke of York to marry her." See Macpherson, vol. i. p. 67.

LETTER XX.

[*From London to Oxford, March*, 1681.]

I HOPE my dearest did not interpret amiss any action of mine, from seven o'clock Thursday night, to nine on Friday morning; I am certain I had sufficient punishment for the ill conduct I used, of the short time then left us to spend together, without so terrible an addition: besides, I was really sorry I could not scribble as you told me you designed I should, not only that I might please myself with remembering I had done you some little service at parting, but possibly I might have prevailed for the laying by a smart word or so, which will now pass current, unless you will oblige a wife, after eleven years, by making such a sacrifice to her now and then, upon occasions offered. I hope, as I write this, you are safe near Oxford (1), though it is not noon; but being to meet Lady Inchiquin at dinner at Montague House, I thought this the best time to dispatch this affair with pleasure. If any thing offers itself, fit to be inserted, I shall gladly do it; but I doubt it. Charlton going to-day to his lady's at Barnet, he promised me, if he knew any thing before he set out, he would impart it. Lord Cavendish keeps a soldier at his back (2) still. Vendôme, another nephew (3), is come over; so they say he shall

(1) The parliament met this year at Oxford, on March the 21st; but from its uncomplying temper with the wishes of the court, was suddenly dissolved by the King on the 29th of the same month.

(2) This must probably have been to prevent an intended duel from some dispute at play.

(3) The Vendôme here mentioned, was the *grand Prieur* Vendôme, great-nephew to Cardinal Mazarin, and son of Laura Mancini; he was consequently cousin to the Duchess of York, and to the Duchess of Mazarin. The nephew mentioned as already here, was the Duc de Nevers, brother to the Duchess of Mazarin. See Lady Sunderland's Letters, No. 8.

take Lord Cavendish's concern; but fighting must be in the end: what Lord Mordant has done can never be put up; nor he will not submit. We conclude nothing but the great Earl of Aylesbury can assist this matter: he must come up of necessity.

The report of our nursery, I humbly praise God, is very good. Master (4) improves really, I think, every day. Sure he is a goodly child; the more I see of others, the better he appears: I hope God will give him life and virtue. Misses and their mamma walked yesterday after dinner to see their cousin Alington. Miss Kate wished she might see him (5); so I gratified her little person. Unless I see cause to add a note, this is all at this time from yours only entirely

R. Russell.

Look to your pockets: a printed paper says you will have fine papers put into them, and then witnesses to swear. (6)

LETTER XXI.

[*From London to Oxford, March*, 1681.]

I cannot express to my dearest, how pleasant to me the sight of his hand is: yet I readily excuse the seeing of it, when he cannot perform it at a seasonable hour, or that he is pressed with more weighty affairs, so that I may be assured he will let me know if he be not well. We are entertained with divers reports; yesterday's were, that my Lord Salisbury had broken his neck, and my Lord Shaftesbury was impeached, which puts his poor lady into un-

(4) Her son, Wriothesley, second Duke of Bedford, born 1st November, 1680.

(5) A new-born son of Lady Alington's.

(6) The caution here given conveys a curious idea of the suspicion and insecurity of the times.

easinesses, though we all conclude there is no reason to credit the report. I find by a letter of Pordage's(1), that you expect to hear of us every day: if there were any thing amiss, you should not fail; but while all is well, I thought we did enough. Truly it was my fault the intelligence of lies (2) are not sent; I believed you might buy them at Oxford. Your care to inform us of the King's speech was more than needed; we are better supplied than you imagine, having read that in print before you did, I believe. The Lord Mayor (3) recovers. The Duchess of Buckingham (4) is likely to be blind, a favour of her Lord's, which she has been ever very thankful for; but lately, some friend, in kindness, endeavouring to inform her judgment and reform her behaviour, reasoned it with her, and represented her obligation to such a husband: upon which the little wise woman showed some resentment to her lord; but he soon made her confess who this friend was, and a grievous bustle there has been, but the poor creature is almost eaten up with her case. Our finer ladies are not all alike satisfied: Lady Arundel (5) goes not to Oxford, as she designed, but to Northamptonshire; and if she did not, Lady Betty Felton threatens to mortify her above all sufferance: for she vows she will not suffer Lord Shrewsbury (6) to adore there any longer; and for my Lord Thanet (7), she says, the world shall see how much more

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(1) Pordage was the house-steward.

(2) She means, probably, the newspapers of the day.

(3) The Lord Mayor this year was Sir Gilbert Gerard; the same who had headed a petition to the King, for calling a parliament.

(4) Mary, only child and heiress of Thomas Lord Fairfax, the parliament general, married to George Villiers, the second and last Duke of Buckingham of that family.

(5) Probably Lady Arundel of Trerice. She was the daughter of Sir Henry Slingsby, of the county of York, and the widow of Sir Richard Manlevrier. After the death of Lord Arundel she married Thomas Herbert Earl of Pembroke.

(6) Charles Talbot, Earl and afterwards Duke of Shrewsbury, by William and Mary in 1691.

(7) Nicholas Tufton, Earl of Thanet, who married Elizabeth, third daughter of the Earl of Burlington. See Lady Sunderland's Letters, No. 4.

powerful her charms are, than those of a great monarch. She is resolved to make that conquest, and then he shall behave himself, in court or parliament, as she appoints. These things we hear; they serve to pass our time, whether true or false. I hope you present my duty to my Lord, and gave him my reasons, as I desired you, why I trouble him not with my letters. The children are all well. We hear the Lord Halifax is at Oxford; if that be false, let us know. My uncle Ruvigny has been indisposed with his ptysic: he has not supped here yet; what he will to-night, I know not. I think this is sufficient for one time, from your obediently faithful wife,

R. Russell.

Pordage's wife continues very ill. We have a report that the King's lip was bit with a weasel at Cornberry. My uncle, Mr. Charlton, Mr. James, your two sisters, are all your servants; but not one word the more in this letter for them.—My duty to papa. *

* These last four words were written by the child.

LETTER XXII.

[*From Stratton to Frimley*, 1681.]

Thursday morning.

A messenger, bringing things from Alsford this morning, gives me the opportunity of sending this by the post. If he will leave it at Frimley, it will let you know we are all well; if he does not, it may let such know it as do not care, but satisfy no one's curiosity in any other point; for, having said thus much, I am ready to conclude, with this one secret, first, that as thy precious self is the most endearing husband, I believe, in the world, so I am the

most grateful wife, and my heart most gladly passionate in its returns. Now you have all, for this time, from your

R. Russell.

Boy is asleep, girls singing a-bed. Lord Marquis (1) sent a compliment yesterday, that he heard one of the girls had the measles; and if I would remove the rest, he would leave his house at an hour's warning. I hope you deliver my service to Mr. James.

For the Lord Russell, to be left at Frimley.

LETTER XXIII.

[*From Stratton to Frimley*, 1681.]

It is so much pleasure to me to write to you, when I shall see you so soon after, that I cannot deny myself the entertainment. My head will lie the easier on my pillow, where I am just going to lay it down, as soon as I have scribbled this side of paper. All has been well here since you, our best life, went. My (1) nieces came last night from Tichfield, all but Betty (2), and Mr. Garat and Harborough. Sir Walter Young dined here to-day; as, I believe, he has told you, on the road he meant to lie at Harford Bridge to-night, and so to London to-morrow: he was not tempted to make one at our ball; but we have had one without him, very

(1) Of Winchester.

(1) The daughters of her eldest and favourite sister, Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, married to Edward Noel, Viscount Campden, created Earl of Gainsborough in 1682. They were then living at Tichfield, in Hampshire, which had been the seat of the Lord Treasurer Southampton.

(2) Elizabeth Noel, their third daughter, afterwards married to Mr. Norton.

formally. I need not tell you I received your letter; Will (3) Wright's coming shows it: nor I need less say any thing to acquaint your dear self the joys it brought with it, from the expressions in it to poor unworthy me: some alloys possibly I found, but I defer that matter till Friday, when I hope once more to be blessed with the sight of what I love best. Good night, dearest life: love your

R. Russell.

I have sent you Mrs. Lacon's letter to read, not thinking it worth your reading at Stratton.

For the Lord Russell, at Frimley.

LETTER XXIV.

[*From Stratton to London*, 20th *September*, 1681.]

To see any body preparing, and taking their way to see what I long to do a thousand times more than they, makes me not endure to suffer their going, without saying something to my best life; though it is a kind of anticipating my joy when we shall meet, to allow myself so much before the time: but I confess I feel a great deal, that, though I left London with great reluctance, (as it is easy to persuade men a woman does,) yet that I am not like to leave Stratton with greater. They will tell you how well I got hither, and how well I found our dear treasure here: your boy will please you; you will, I think, find him improved, though I tell you so beforehand. They fancy he wanted you; for, as soon as I alighted, he followed, calling Papa; but, I suppose, it is the word he has most command of; so was not disobliged by the little fellow. The girls

(3) A groom.

were fine, in remembrance of the happy 29th of September (1); and we drank your health, after a red-deer pie; and at night your girls and I supped on a sack posset: nay, Master (2) would have his room; and for haste burnt his fingers in the posset; but he does but rub his hands for it. It is the most glorious weather here that ever was seen. The coach shall meet you at the cabbage-garden: be there by eight o'clock, or a little after; though I guess you can hardly be there so soon, day breaks so late; and indeed the mornings are so misty, it is not wholesome to be in the air so early. I do propose going to my neighbour Worsley to-day. I would fain be telling my heart more things — any thing to be in a kind of talk with him; but, I believe, Spencer stays for my dispatch: he was willing to go early; but this was to be the delight of this morning, and the support of the day. It is performed in bed, thy pillow at my back; where thy dear head shall lie, I hope, to-morrow night, and many more, I trust in His mercy, notwithstanding all our enemies or ill-wishers. Love, and be willing to be loved, by

R. Russell.

I have not seen your brother; yet I wish matters go well.

For the Lord Russell.

LETTER XXV.

[*From London to Stratton*, 2d *October*, 1681.]

Saturday night.

I have deferred so late to write, that now I have little time to do it in: my intention was good, hoping still to learn some sort

(1) The birth-day of Lord Russell.

(2) Her son.

of tattle might entertain you, but nothing comes; yet Mr. Montague is but just gone. Now the company is gone to Stockbridge, he has a little leisure to pay his civilities: he says Lord Cavendish comes next week: he has got 500l. returned him by old Devon (1), as I understand. Your father went this morning; and Lady Margaret also. The King comes not till Friday. The ladies' quarrel is the only news talked of: Lady Betty (2) lies a-bed, and cries. Lord Newport came yesterday morning, and says he never saw the King more enraged; he sent to Lord Suffolk to chain up his mad daughter, and forbid her the Court; so at present neither Lord nor Lady Suffolk see her; and little Felton (3) is leaving her. Our family, I thank God, is well, as you left it. I hear your cousin, Tom Newport, is very ill of a fever. Mrs. Pelham (4) is brought to-bed of a fair daughter; so the sport is begun in our Square. Lord Shaftesbury had a good night: Charlton waited on his wife out of town yesterday; so that you are to imagine it a little dull in our quarters: it is not so to me at this present, but will be as soon as I have signed,

R. Russell.

For the Lord Russell, at Stratton, in Hampshire, to be left with the Postmaster at Basingstoke.

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(1) To what this alludes the Editor knows not. See, on the subject of Lord Cavendish and his father, Lady Sunderland's Letters, No. 1.

(2) Lady Betty Felton, before mentioned in these letters. It is impossible now to discover what the "ladies' quarrel," nor who were the other ladies engaged in it. Lord Cavendish is mentioned in Lady Sunderland's letters, as one of Lady Betty Felton's admirers and followers. She seems to have been *the* fine lady of her day. Her reign was short, for she died at twenty-five, the very year this letter was written, leaving an only daughter, afterwards married to John, the first Earl of Bristol, of the family of Hervey.

(3) Her husband.

(4) Mrs. Pelham was a daughter of Sir William Jones, married to Mr. afterwards Sir Thomas Pelham, created by Queen Anne Lord Pelham, in 1706.

LETTER XXVI.

[*From Stratton to London*, 20th *October*, 1681.]

Saturday night.

THE hopes I have, my dearest life, that this will be the concluding epistle, for this time, makes me undertake it with more cheerfulness than my others. We are very busy in preparing, and full of expectation to see a coach come for us: just at twelve this morning I heard one, was not altogether so welcome as Mr. Whithead will be: it proved Lady Worsley (1); but Miss, who had me by the hand, would not quit it, but led me to her dinner, and told my Lady Worsley, I said I would dine with her; then she would dine there too; and Miss consented she should: so we took your table to my chamber, and pleased all parties, I hope, I being so, now it is over. I put her to work as soon as we had eaten. We laid up all your pears: I intend them to go by Monday's carrier. Your hawks we know not what to do with, but stay they must, I say, till we are gone, and horses come back; but your new dog, I hope you will think of, for what to do with him I know not: I have a mind to have him led along with the waggon; for then he will be safe going through towns, and Betty Forster may take care of him at nights; but I hope you will tell us your mind tomorrow, if you can think of any thing but parliamentary affairs. I pray God direct all your consultations there; and, my dearest dear, you guess my mind. A word to the wise. I never longed more earnestly to be with you, for whom I have a thousand kind and grateful thoughts. You know of whom I learned this expression. If I could have found one more fit to speak the passion

(1) Sir James Worsley, of Pilewell, in Hants, married Mary, daughter of Sir William Stewart, of Harteley Manduit, in the same county.

of my soul, I should send it you with joy; but I submit with great content to imitate, but never shall attain to any equality, except that of sincerity: and I will ever be (by God's grace) what I ought, and profess, thy faithful, affectionate, and obedient wife,

R. Russell.

I seal not this till Sunday morning, that you might know all is well then. Miss sends me word she is so, and hopes to see Papa quickly; so does one more.

For the Lord Russell, at Southampton-house, London.

LETTER XXVII.

[*From Stratton to London, November*, 1681.]

Monday, 10 o'clock.

I have felt one true delight this morning already, being just come from our nurseries, and now am preparing for another: these being my true moments of pleasure, till the presence of my dearest life is before my eyes again: how I long for it, I will not go about to tell you; nor how I take your abusing me about my perfections: you should leave those things to your brother to say, when occasion serves. On Friday, he may know how soon he may be put to his best language (1); for Wednesday is the day of trial, and the report to be made on Friday; but now we have choice of old and young. There is a young, handsome, well-natured, discreet gentlewoman, solely at the disposal of Mr. W. with 7000l., a Lady Nines' daughter,

(1) This seems to have been, either in jest or in earnest, some intended proposal of marriage to be made by Mr. James Russell.

here in the west. I name her, because possibly you may see somebody may have known something of them; and this coming by the carrier, I thought it would make no discovery. I put a note into the box of pears last night, intending then not to write to-day; but I have no power to let it alone; and, as an inducement to myself to make it more reasonable, I consider I need not send again to-morrow to Basingstoke, since you will have both on Wednesday morning; that is, unless there should be any change, as I trust in God there will not; so that look for no news by the post: if there be cause you shall hear. The pears, I sent you word how they are distinguished: all the south are in papers and linen. I am something discouraged as to good news, you having had (2) Sir William so long, and give me not a word of comfort; nor, truly, I found none in the news-letter, but increase of witnesses against Lord Shaftesbury. My service to the ladies that met you. Poor Lady Shaftesbury writes me word, she finds her brother (3) the same man. No fault must be found with the ministers, though they feel the sad effects of their malice and cruelty. The carrier is ready to go: he promises, by twelve o'clock, to be with you. Yours entirely,

R. Russell.

Miss brings me her mite; but there has been almost wet eyes about it, she thinks it so ill done. (4)

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(2) Sir William Jones, who had been Attorney-General.

(3) The Hon. Robert Spencer, frequently mentioned in these letters.

(4) A letter from the child is enclosed.

LETTER XXVIII.

[*From Stratton to London, November* 22. 1681.] (1)

As often as you are absent, we are taught, by experience, who gives life to this house and family; but we dodge on in a dull way, as well as we can. Our eldest master (2) walks contentedly to Michel-dever (3) and back again, then talks with Richard; then sits down to a woodcock and toasts: but the highest gusto I find he has, is going to bed at ten, and expecting to sleep there till eleven next morning, without being disturbed; which he was in fear not to do when you are at home; and he complains, you are not content to wake him, but throw off his clothes to boot. I think he expects a return to his visit before he makes another. (4) This is a day of care; for Richard is gone upon Dun, both to the He and She: so at night we expect to know something; then he will spur up that way, I suppose. If the mountain come not to us, Mahomet will go to it. I just come from our little master: he is very well; so I left him, and saw your girls a-lacing. Miss Kate says, Sure papa is upon the road. I wish for Wednesday, that I may know if I am to hope he will be so this week. If you should buy the new stuff for my closet, do not let them make chairs; for now I think cane will do best in so little a room. Pray remember the door be

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(1) This letter is addressed "*For the Lady Allington,*" but on the old of the paper is added the word "*Yourself.*"

(2) Mr. James Russell.

(3) A village in the neighbourhood.

(4) This, and what follows, again alludes to the proposal of marriage mentioned in the last letter.

turned against the wood places to my chamber. One remembrance more, my best life: be wise as a serpent, harmless as a dove. So farewell, for this time. Yours,

R. RUSSELL.

Mr. James and I desire Thomson (5) every week. (6)

For the Lady Allington.

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(5) Probably a newspaper of the time.

(6) The reader may, probably, like to see a letter of Lord Russell's, written soon after the date of this.—

" November 26th, 1681.

" I suppose you received mine of Thursday. I hope this will be the last time for this " bout of troubling you in this kind; for, on Tuesday, God willing, I intend to set " out to go to my dearest dear's embraces, which, upon my word, I value now as much " as I did ten, eleven, or twelve years ago, and more than any the town can afford, " now you are out of it. On Monday we intend to be at Westminster, to be bail for " my Lord Shaftesbury, in case it be demanded; and I hear the Lieutenant of the Tower " has order to bring him, Lord Howard *, Willmore †, and Whitaker: so that it is " concluded they will be all released, although some talk as if they would bring fresh " matter; but I do not believe it. It is thought by some of your friends, where we " dined together when you were in town, that the fair man ‡ was the person most " troubled at Thursday's business; and, really, by his looks, and what he said to-day in " my hearing, one would have thought so. If the coach can conveniently come to Hert- " ford Bridge on Tuesday, let it; else Will Wright will ride upon great Dun, and lead " little one.

" I come, just now, from eating oysters with your sister, which shall be all my " supper; and I hope to get to bed earlier than I have been able to do hitherto. My " father is not come to town. Farewell my dearest: kiss my little children from me; " and believe me to be, as entirely as I am, yours, and only your

" RUSSELL."

* Lord Howard of Escrick. He had been committed to the Tower, in June, 1681, for being the supposed author or contriver of the treasonable pamphlet, for which Fitzharris (the son of Sir Edward Fitzharris, of Ireland,) had been executed in the previous July.

† Willmore was the foreman of the Middlesex jury, who had returned a bill of " *Ignoramus*," against Colledge, (the Protestant Joiner); which, however, had not saved him from being convicted by a more complying jury at Oxford, and executed on the 31st August of this year.

‡ Was this the Duke of Monmouth?

LETTER XXIX.

[*From Stratton to London, September* 25. 1682.]

I STAID till I came from church, that I might, as late as I could, tell you all your concerns here are just as you left them. The young man as mad, winking at me, and striking with his drumstick whatever comes to his reach. (1) If I had written before church, whilst my morning draught was in my head, this might have entertained you better; but, now those fumes are laid, I find my spirits more dull than usual, as I have more cause; the much dearer and pleasanter part of my life being absent from me: I leave my Lord Russell to guess who that is. I had a letter last post from Mrs. Lacon: pray tell her so, and that you had the paper about the King of Poland (2); for she is very inquisitive to know, it being so new, she says Charlton had not seen it. I know nothing new since you went; but I know, as certainly as I live, that I have been, for twelve years, as passionate a lover as ever woman was, and hope to be so one twelve years more; happy still, and entirely yours,

R. RUSSELL.

For the Lord Russell, at Southampton House, London.

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(1) Her son.

(2) This was, probably, a report, that the Duke of York was to be made King of Poland.

LETTER XXX.

[*From London to Stratton, October* 23. 1682.]

If this meets my best life in London, it may let him know, that this Tuesday morning, at ten o'clock, all his concerns that I know of at poor Stratton were as he left them: no other complaint than they had then, sorry for absence; and Miss (who says she was like to cry) wishing, as she did then, for your coming home again: but truly I do not know my real wishes on that subject, nor why, I need not explain to my dear man, who may guess at all my thoughts, the most secret in my heart; and if he does it justly, will know more by it than by my words, which are very ill expressions of my sense of obligations to his Lordship. Yesterday Noel (1) sent the coach for master (2); so he is a-going this morning: and intending last night not to go till ten o'clock, I took my rest; but it seems he is to go by Winchester, and so is hastening sooner; and this letter is going by him; and he is by me hurrying, as young folks are, about a journey. And what I say I do not well know; but Mr. Russell's indulgence in all kinds to me I am well acquainted with. I desire to be all I ought,

R. Russell.

For the Lord Russell, at Southampton House, London.

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(1) Her brother-in-law.

(2) Probably Mr. James Russell.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS

TO AND FROM

LADY RUSSELL.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS

TO AND FROM

LADY RUSSELL.

LETTER I.

[*To Lady Vaughan, January* 20. 1659.] (1)

Right Honourable,

THE continual discourses of these parts are most concerned in the great expectations from the north; and because your Ladyship should receive the satisfaction of these affairs, I must begin my relation where I ended in my last, about the concerns of Monck; which, if it continues, will prove a subject for volumes, rather than letters. He is credibly reported to have been, on Wednesday night last, at Harborough, a town, as I think, not far from Leicester. There is no certain day appointed for his being here. His army is much increased, and (2) move slow. He brought not above five thousand horse and foot out of Scotland; and a week ago he mustered ten thousand and five hundred, and adds daily to his

(1) The Editor has been unable to discover the writer of this letter, signed only with the initials of E. A., and addressed, from London, to Lady Vaughan, then living in her father-in-law's (Lord Carberry's) house in Wales. It gives an interesting and curious account of the agitation and uncertainty that prevailed in London during the march of Monck from Scotland.

(2) A word here torn out of the MS.

number. He is much solicited by the most considerable persons, to stand for a free Parliament. He has sent directions for his old lodgings to be taken up for him in Fleet-street, near the Conduit, though there are great preparations made to receive him at the Prince's lodgings at Whitehall. The two extremes, of the greatest happiness or the greatest misfortune to this already most miserable nation, are couched in his breast. The debate continues still between the City and Parliament; and the same grudge between the Parliament and the secluded Members; and every one of these courting Monck to their own interest. The Parliament have sent Scot and Robinson as envoys, with a present of ready money, (a scarce commodity in these times,) and yearly allowance of a thousand pounds for him and his heirs; and have allowed of all his actions from the beginning of this last business. Some eminent persons of the secluded Members are gone to Monck, to address themselves to him, to be a means to preserve their interest in Parliament. The City have employed some of the most considerable of the Common Council to court him to their assistance. It is thought, there will be the surest pay and the best security. I cannot omit the inserting a few lines, which are said to be put on the Parliament-house door; viz.

Till it be understood
What's under Monck's hood,
The citizens pull in their horns.
Till ten days be out,
Old Will has the gout,
And the Parliament sits upon thorns.

But Monck does wisely, if he continues his resolution of quartering in Fleet-street, to keep the peace between those two great bodies, the City and Parliament. It is reported, that Fairfax *is up*; and Roister expected upon the same account in Lincolnshire. I have presented your Ladyship with an enclosed letter from Exeter, which was concealed by the Speaker, till Mr. Bamfield, of those parts, and Recorder of that town, and lately Speaker of *Dick*'s Parliament,

brought it to light. Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire, with many others adjoining, it is believed, will be of the same opinion. Sallaway was two days ago committed to the Tower, but not discharged of the house, and is since, they say, at liberty; Sydenham at the same time expelled the house. It is perceived how great the enmity is between themselves, daily impeaching one another. The soldiery for the guard of the Tower were, on Wednesday last, changed. There was an unfortunate accident happened this week, by a quarrel between the Earl of Chesterfield and Dr. Woolesson, at Hammersmith, where the Earl killed him in the place, and is fled. I shall refer the particulars of it to the relation of my Lord, who, I am confident, hath been acquainted with the whole passage. The Speaker's parole of ten days will be shortly expired; and, it is reported, he will sit in the house on Monday next. There is no mention this last week of the nine worthies, but what is daily cried in ballads up and down the streets. I shall most humbly desire the presentation of my most humble service to the most honoured Lord your father, and your Lady mother and your sisters, and my most humble service to your Ladyship.

I remain,

My most honoured Madam,

Your Ladyship's most humble servant to command,

January 20th, 1659. E. A.

LETTER II.

[*The Honourable Henry Sidney* (1) *to Lady Vaughan.*]

London, February 2. 1670.

If my Lady Vaughan had persisted any longer in her silence, I was chosen by her friends at Charing Cross to chide her; and though her writing once to her poor, beggarly, ill-favoured sister (2) has taken away my commission to rebuke her, it shall not hinder me, having had once orders, to write to her, hoping that my letters may be as welcome as Mr. Muddman's: and, in order to making them so, I will begin my gazette by informing you that Sir William—that worthy, ancient gentleman!—pushes his addresses to his widow with his wonted vigour, and with so good success, that he is become my greatest envy, who cannot carry the hopes of my poor friend for his widow with half so much encouragement. I am almost at my wit's ends about it; and I doubt I shall at last utterly despair, and make doleful ditties on the cruelty of your sex. We say in town that her cousin Tishy is not half so cruel to Mr. Cheek (3); but that the wed-

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(1) He was the fourth son of Robert Earl of Leicester, and brother to Algernoon Sydney. He was one of the seven who signed the association for inviting over King William, and was by him created Earl of Romney, in 1689. He is the *Beau Sidney* of the Memoires de Grammont. Of his passion for the first Duchess of York, we have the authority of a graver historian than Count Anthony Hamilton. Sir John Reresby says, "His "Royal Highness the Duke and his Duchess came down to York, when it was observed, "that Mr. Sidney, the handsomest youth of his time, and of the Duke's bedchamber, "was greatly in love with the Duchess; and, indeed, he might well be excused; for the "Duchess, daughter of the Chancellor Hyde, was a very handsome personage, and a "woman of fine wit. The Duchess, on her part, seemed kind to him, but very innocently." *Reresby's Mem. Aug.* 6. 1665.

(2) Lady Northumberland.

(3) Mr. Cheek, son of Sir Thomas Cheek, of Pergo, in Essex, was Lady Manchester's brother. He married Dorothy Sidney, daughter of Philip Earl of Leicester, and niece to the writer of this letter.

ding-clothes are making, and that, by consent of parents, all things are to be accomplished, and had been so already, but for the unfortunate death of poor Mr. Oliver, my Lady Manchester's chaplain, who slept sweetly in the Lord on Saturday night last, and has occasioned so great mourning in that family, that ombre and weddings have been forbid for a week. On the other side, my lord chamberlain (4) has been in mortification for the loss of his poor brother, Hatton Rich (5), who, not making a very Christian end, has been the occasion of great grief to all his pious relations. He has bequeathed all his worldly goods to his nieces by my last Lord of Warwick, and has left nothing to my Lord Mandeville (6) and Mr. Roberts, which is much wondered at by all that know those two worthy gentlemen. — To go on with dismal stories, your ladyship must know, that one Major Cary, (brother to a young maid of honour of the same name,) coming in a good ship out of Holland, did not like his passage; but whether it was that he thought to swim sooner to shore, or that he was in love with some sea-nymph, he took his career from the side of the ship, and leapt into the sea very frankly, though with the same usage others find upon that element, for we hear no more of him; and it is shrewdly suspected Neptune has put him into Bedlam, in his kingdom, since we were so unkind as not to do so much for him here. The expedition of Wild-street, I am sure, is too famous not to have reached you long since. There are very few more steps yet made into the discovery of it; but, I doubt not, He that revenges murder will shortly bring all to light, and them to condign punishment who have had their hands in the blood of the innocent. My Lady Northumberland is grown so flippant since her adventure at court, (of which she has already informed your ladyship,) that now she trips it every day in St. James's Park, meets the person you wot of, and

(4) Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester.

(5) One of Lord Manchester's former wives (for he had no less than five,) was a sister of Rich Earl of Holland.

(6) The Earl of Manchester's son.

ogles and curtsies do pass at that rate, that her friends, knowing not what to make of it, only pray that her honour may be safe. Now comes the difficult matter — to know from whom this letter comes: that is to be a secret, only it is one that kisses my Lady Vaughan's hands, and Mr. Russell's, and will come himself and let them know. In the mean time they may guess as they please, but shall have no more light from me, but that the two first letters are,

H. S.

LETTER III.

[*Lady Russell to the Countess of Ogle.*]

April 1. 1679.

My Lord of Essex (1), on Saturday morning, sent me your Ladyship's letter. In it I find the change you have made in your condition.

(1) The Earl of Essex was the uncle, by marriage, of Lady Ogle, his wife being Elizabeth, sister of Jocelyn Percy, the last Earl of Northumberland, Lady Ogle's father. The early history of this great heiress seems to have been very unfortunate. We see by this letter, that, on her first marriage with Lord Ogle, contracted in childhood, her mother had not been consulted by the rest of her family. When Lord Ogle's death, within a twelvemonth after, set her again free, she was again made a prey to interested motives. Her second marriage with Mr. Thynne, in 1681, seems to have been at once offensive to most of her own family, and not much desired by herself, as she could not have been very averse to the attentions paid her by Count Koningsmarck, when he imagined the base and wild possibility of gaining possession of her by the murder of Mr. Thynne. Evelyn, in his Diary, gives the following account of a conversation with Lord Essex, on the subject of this second marriage with Mr. Thynne, attributing motives to her grandmother which, if known to be true, might have inspired some hopes of success, by lawless means, to a profligate libertine, such as we know Count Koningsmarck to have been.

15th Oct. 1681.—"I dined with the Earl of Essex, who after dinner, in his study, where "we were alone, related to me how much he had been scandalized and injured in the "report of his being privy to the marriage of his lady's niece, the rich young widow "of the late Lord Ogle, sole daughter of the Earl of Northumberland; showing me a

You have my prayers and wishes, dear Lady Ogle, that it may prove as fortunate to you as ever it did to any, and that you may know happiness to a good old age: but, Madam, I cannot think you can be completely so, with a misunderstanding between so near a relation as a mother; and, therefore, (in pursuance of my wish,) I must do you all the service in my power. But, surely, Madam, it must be chiefly your own act; and you cannot pursue, in my opinion, so commendable a design too eagerly. No applications can now be too earnest to obtain her pardon, nor could have been to have prevented the misfortune of her displeasure, whose tender kindness you cannot but be convinced of; and, consequently, Madam, that all her advice could have no other aim and end but your being happy; and reasonably concluding the freeness of your choice was likely to make you so, she could not think your avoiding to see so many, alike qualified to make their addresses to you, was the way to make you so impartial in your judgment (as you say, in your letter, you believe you have been). I hope it will prove the best for you; but I cannot make use of your argument to her, not thinking it of force to persuade her to what you desire, and know none so probable as your own constant solicitations, which will, I hope, prevail with her good-nature. I am certain I do passionately desire it, and shall infinitely rejoice to be a witness of it, as must all those that are as sincerely as I am,

Yours.

" letter of Mr. Thynne's, excusing himself for not communicating his marriage to
" His Lordship. He acquainted me also with the whole story of that unfortunate Lady's
" being betrayed by her grandmother, the Countess of Northumberland, and Colonel
" Brett, for money; and that, upon the importunity of the Duke of Monmouth, he had
" delivered to the grandmother a particular of the jointure which Mr. Thynne pretended
" he could settle on the Lady; yet he totally discouraged the proceeding, as by no means
" a competent match for one that, both by birth and fortune, might have pretended to
" the greatest Prince in Christendom: that he had also proposed the Earl of Kingston,
" or the Lord Cranburn, but was by no means for Mr. Thynne."

See Note (6.) *to p. 7. of these Letters.*

LETTER IV.

Thus endorsed by Lady Russell: — "Copy of a Letter sent me when the Duke of Monmouth went in." (1)

November 29. 1683.

Madam,

I KNOW you are too much a Christian and a friend, not to rejoice at the happiness of your friend, and at the unexpected turn of affairs we have had of late: yet I cannot but think it will be a vast renewing of a grief that is but too well founded, when you think that if either he had gone out of the way, or his business had been delayed till now, he might have been in the same condition with the rest. But you must endeavour to put all such reflections out of your mind; the will of God is now declared, and it is not possible to recall what is past. The greatest comfort you are now capable of is, the evidence that the world has now of your Lord's innocence, and of the falsehood of his accusers. I am told that the Duke of Monmouth has said to the King, that he lost in him the best subject he had, and does in all things confirm every tittle that he left behind him; so that it is generally said that they repent the taking his life at Whitehall. If any intimation of this kind is made to your Ladyship, all that you can beg upon it is leave to publish a book concerning him, and, when that is granted, the writing of it shall not stick long. But perhaps things will not be so soon ripe for this, and it will not be fit to pre-

(1) Query, — if this letter is from Sir Robert Atkyns, who published, "*A Defence of the late Lord Russell's Innocency.*" To which was prefixed, two letters on the subject of his trial.

cipitate it by making too early an attempt at it. No fine was set yesterday, neither on Mr. Derby (1), for printing the speech, nor on Mr. Jonson (2), for Julian, though both was expected.

I am, as I ought to be, sensible of the great zeal and concern of your Ladyship. I do also very humbly thank you for ordering some of the prints to be brought me; for every shadow of him must be ever very dear to me, and I will ever consider myself as a property of yours, and as one that is wholly devoted to serve you and your children to the last of my life; for I am, with the most perfect duty possible,

Your Ladyship's
most humble.

LETTER V.

Lady Russell, in answer to the foregoing, endorsed by her: — My Letter to f. f. f.

Sir,

When you consider who this comes from, one amazed with grief, and so lately deprived of as much good as this world can give, you will not wonder at any errand this paper can bring with it. The occasion of your being troubled by me, is from the sight of a letter my Lord of Bedford and I have had from a friend of yours: I guess I

(1) The printer of Lord Russell's last Speech. The fine imposed on him was only 20 marks, which, as Burnet observes, in a letter to Lady Russell, was either too little or too much.

(2) The Reverend Samuel Jonson had been for some time Domestic Chaplain to Lord Russell. A short time after his death, Jonson was seized, and committed to the Gate-House prison, as the author of *Julian the Apostate*, a treatise against the then fashionable doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. See an account of his life and further sufferings in the same cause, in the Biographia Britannica at his article.

need not name him. I have not words to express how sensibly we were touched with it; but this effect it has had upon me — to conclude, one so generously kind and compassionate to the distressed condition of this excellent man, can find no fault with me for any request I can pretend to make, though you may find it fit to deny it. Sir, there is a paper called an Antidote against Poison (1), which I suppose you have seen, or will soon do so. It is cried up to be written with much spirit, and a great deal above any other written upon this dismal occasion. Now the favour I ask (and sure it will be an infinite addition to the obligation before acknowledged) is, that I might receive your opinion concerning it, as to the law part particularly, the evidence is so justly set down, as the trial itself shows. It would particularly be of great use and honour to the memory of a worthy man malice endeavours to blast. This should lie by me, to show as occasion serves, and you shall approve. As to the privacy of the matter, I do engage, upon my honour, and all can bind a Christian, I will be secret; and if you send any paper written in your own hand, I will transcribe it myself, and either consume the paper, or send it you back, as you shall direct. I have used such caution in this, that my Lord Bedford himself knows not I either have, or mean to write to you. Whatever friends I have, Sir, I am made so well acquainted with your worth, that I profess I will ever covet, when I may have it, your counsel and advice, in the concerns of her you have obliged to be, Sir, your humble servant, though my present circumstances make me one of the most afflicted in the world.

(1) This was the pamphlet which Sir Robert Atkyns answered, in his "*Defence of the late Lord Russell's Innocency.*" He published likewise, "*The Lord Russell's Innocency further defended,*" in answer to another work, called, "*The Magistracy and Government of England vindicated. In Three Parts. By Sir Bartholomew Shower.*"

LETTER VI.

[*The Reverend John Howe to Lady Russell.* (1)

Utrecht, February 9. 1686–7.

I DOUBT not, Madam, but you believe me sincerely willing to serve any relative of your Ladyship, or of the honourable family I am about to mention; and shall, therefore, forbear every thing of apology for the trouble I now give you. If your Ladyship think it not unfit to give me a character of my Lord of Bedford's (now) eldest son, and it prove as good on his part (which what I already know leaves me little place of doubt for), as I am sure it will be true on your Ladyship's, supposing he have not determined still to live single, or be not otherwise pre-engaged, I might, perhaps, (though I can only promise faithful endeavours,) improve it to his advantage, with an English Lady, my present neighbour, so very deserving in respect of all personal qualifications, family, and fortune, as to be capable of contributing what can be expected from such a relation, to the making a person, suitable to her, very happy in it. It would be requisite, to qualify me for attempting any thing herein, that I be able to give an account, besides his strict sobriety, of his seriousness in religion, without being addicted (to the degree of bigotry) unto any the distinguishing modes of it used among sober-minded Protestants; and (which is a great essential) of that goodness of temper, wherein is a composition of prudence and kindness, that shall neither incline to a fond levity, nor

(1) This letter is already mentioned in the preceding account of Lady Russell. The Lady in question was the widow of ——— Lloyd, Esquire. She married Mr. afterwards Lord Edward Russell, the following year. He was long one of the members for the county of Bedford, and was appointed Lord Lieutenant, &c. of the county of Middlesex during the minority of his nephew, Lady Russell's son. He died without children, in 1714.

too morose sourness; together with his certain estate, without reference to such possibilities, as, which God forbid they should, signify any thing, either in reality or expectation. I doubt not I might receive very liberal encomiums of this noble person from other hands; but if I should ever mention such a thing to the Lady herself, nothing could give me so great a confidence therein as I should receive from your Ladyship's testimony; nor can any thing (upon what I know of her just and high honour for your Ladyship) signify so much with her. I apprehend it will be the less inconvenient for your Ladyship to give your sense upon this subject, that there will be no need, in doing so, again to mention his name, and that mere silence will serve as to any part (if there should be any) wherein your Ladyship cannot allow yourself to be positive; and it would be the more convenient, for that I doubt not your Ladyship can say all that will be for the present requisite, without making any enquiries from a third person, which, as yet, would not be seasonable.

Your Ladyship so well understands how little reason there is the great and wise Lord and Ruler of all things should make the state of things perfect and unexceptionable, in a world not intended for perpetuity, and designed to be a place of discipline, for the exercise and improvement of virtue and religion, not of full rewards for them; and you are so fully persuaded that the rewards of the other state will be sufficiently ample for all the sufferings and sorrows wherewith sincerity is often attended in this, that I need wish no more for your Ladyship's present continual support and consolation, than that you may have the constant living sense of what you already know; which I cease not to pray for to your Ladyship, together with the fulness of all blessings, upon the most hopeful plants under your care; as greatly becometh,

Most honoured Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obliged,

And most faithfully devoted humble Servant,

JOHN HOWE.

LETTER VII.

[*Lady Russell to the Rev. John Howe, February,* 1687.]

LET me assure Mr. Howe I do not write this with indifference, upon several accounts. I receive your letter as a kind testimony of your remembrance, which I value very much; and yet I feel myself more engaged by your zeal to do good to that family I have known so true content in, and am entirely dedicated to. It is honourable and worthy in the whole, and every branch of it have their peculiar virtues; but every highest respect (meaning that sex we are to speak of) is placed, where my best and blessed friend placed his. This may possibly be a bar to your concluding, that what I may say should be received as impartially given; though yet I think it may, since I am sincerest in searching, where I desire to find the fewest faults. Some, in this imperfect state, must be found in man; but I do sincerely believe, the person is highly qualified to make one happy in the nearest relation we can have upon earth. I would for no advantage to myself, or friend, deceive any; especially, by false acts, be an instrument to lead one eminently confident into error, and so desperate a one, out of which there is no recovery. But where there is great honour, truth, courage, and great good-nature, what supposition can there be that, when joined with a prudent and virtuous woman, they should not feel the felicity of the happiest state of life. Self-interest does not bribe me to say this, since now the drudgery of living only remains to me; but, in my pleasant days, so near a relation, so very deserving, must have been gladly received, and even now must be owned a kind Providence; and would undoubtedly not fail to be so by the obliged family, which, I can pronounce, is the easiest to converse or live with that ever I have known, or could observe. There is one particular, that, without making

enquiries from a third person, (which you are of opinion would not yet be seasonable,) I can give no report of, that is, their certain estate. I am entirely ignorant in that point; but do imagine Mr. Ashurst not quite so. I am very nice of enquiring into those particulars, of all others: but I know they have an equal and just father, and what is once promised will be punctually performed. Proceedings of this nature can move so slow at such a distance, that more than I have said I do not take to be necessary, in order to your friendly attempting to facilitate a happy union. When the lady is again in England, I shall be early in paying my respects, and with great integrity acquitting myself of any part in this affair that can fall upon me; or, if it sinks into nothing, ever retain the sense of your good-will and forwardness to dispose the lady towards it; and shall as little fail to acquaint my Lord Bedford, whose mind is ever prepared to all real acknowledgments when he feels himself obliged.

LETTER VIII.

[*Lady Edward Russell* (1) *to Lady Russell.*]

Russell-street, July 6th, 1690.

Because our God is God, and not man, therefore we, who have deserved unmixed wrath, do hitherto sing both of mercy and judgment. The Lord has arisen, his enemies are scattered, and they that hate him are fled before him. It is, indeed, almost incredible what we have an account of, by an express that came to-day from Ireland. King James's army is so routed, that it is

(1) This is the lady mentioned in the two foregoing letters.

concluded he can never rally again. He fled himself to Dublin; where he found his reception so unexpectedly cold, that he durst not trust himself among his former friends there, but retired immediately into the county of Connaught, to a town that I did not hear named. I have not heard what numbers he has lost: I suppose, not many; for they ran so fast, death itself could not overtake them. We have, however, taken Hamilton (2) prisoner; and Lord Dungan and Lord Carlingford are dead. On our side not so much as an ensign killed, of the inferior officers; yet it has pleased God to suffer a musket-shot to put an end to the glorious days of the great and renowned Schomberg. (3) He fell not in battle, but received the wound in his throat, as he was giving orders over a wall. Walker of Londonderry, standing near, was shot and killed at the same time. The Duke of Ormond writes, that it is thought Duke Schomberg's wound was not mortal, but that he rather died of his

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(2) Count George Hamilton, the elder brother of Count Anthony Hamilton, who has given us many particulars of his brother's early life, in his incomparable memoirs of their brother-in-law, the Count de Grammont. Count George Hamilton, as we are there informed, married *la belle Jennings*. She was an elder sister of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough; and, after Count George Hamilton's death, married George Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel. See frequent mention of her, under the name of Lady Tyrconnel, in the letters of the Duke to the Duchess of Marlborough, in Coxe's Life of the Duke of Marlborough.

(3) Frederick Duke of Schomberg was of a noble family, originally of the Palatinate. He first signalized himself under Frederick Henry Prince of Orange; after whose death he engaged in the service of France, commanded in Spain the Portuguese army in alliance with France, and afterwards the French army in Catalonia, with such success, that, although a Protestant, he received the bâton of a Maréchal of France in 1675.

On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he was suffered to leave France, on condition of going to Portugal. He afterwards got liberty to remove to Germany, and commanded as Generalissimo for the Elector of Bavaria. In the year 1688, he came over to England with King William, by whom he was immediately created Earl of Brentford, Marquis of Harwich, and Duke of Schomberg, with limitation, first to his youngest, and then to his second son, both of whom succeeded to his titles; but the first died in Italy, of wounds received in the battle of Marsaglia against the French, and the second dying without male issue, in 1719, the title became extinct. The Duke of Schomberg had been sent by King William to Ireland in the year 1689.

fall, for he pitched exactly on his head; however it was, he never rose again. The King was once more so near danger, that a bullet grazed upon the side of his boot, and passed him by. They say he has extremely exposed his person in this action. Once he was going towards the enemy at the head of a very small party of guards, which Lord Scarborough being aware of, strictly commanded that not a man should stir: his orders were so well obeyed, that the King, having advanced a little way, turned about, and found he was alone, so was forced to return to his company. Monsieur Callimot is wounded, but, it is hoped, not mortally. We have taken several field-pieces from the enemy; and were upon a hot pursuit when the express came away. It is thought, by this time, the King has got to Dublin; where, to be sure, he is, or will be very welcome to great numbers of miserable Protestants, whom, when King James went out to fight, he left enclosed in churches and other public places: what he designed further to do with them, God has graciously prevented. Hamilton, who is taken prisoner, says, they have a recruit, under the command of Sarsfield, consisting of eleven battalions, and three regiments of horse. Kirk and his army were not concerned in this action: it is said, the King considers him according to his merit. The King's wound heals, and is scabbed over; so that he is out of that danger, and, I trust, will be preserved from all other. He is as busy as if he had never been hurt; holds his bridle with his right hand, and fights with his left. He is as merciful as he is brave. He has caused Hamilton's wounds to be dressed; and treats him more like a friend than a traitor and a rebel.

Mr. Russell (4) is come in, and contradicts some of my news, adds to some, and tells some that I had not heard before; and all this I am to do, by his direction, in so little time, that I fear I shall not write intelligibly. In the first place, he adds, that Monsieur Cal-

(4) Admiral Russell, afterwards created Earl of Orford. He was then a Commissioner of the Admiralty.

limot is shot through the thigh; next, he contradicts that of Dr. Walker's death: all the letters had it, and it was generally believed in our army. The Secretary of War himself, upon whose letter Mr. Russell goes, says, in the beginning of it, that he is dead, but at last contradicts it, saying only thus, he was ridden over and stript, but is well enough. How this happened I cannot imagine, for he does not say how he came to lie so low. That same letter gives a very full account of Duke Schomberg's death. Thirty of King James's men made so good resistance, that all of them were killed upon the spot but five. These, endeavouring to make their escape that way, where they might most easily pass through our army, took the way that led to a little village, where the Duke was giving out orders: as they passed through it, they saw him, and taking notice of his blue ribbon, shot the fatal bullets at him that put an end to his life.

I must contradict what I said, of our not having lost any men in this fight; for several officers in Count Solmes's blue regiment fell at the first encounter. They passed the river first, and bore alone the shock of all the enemy's horse before ours could come to their assistance, but they could not be broken. The Inniskillen men did not behave themselves so well: they made a brisk attack at first, but maintained their ground so ill, that, in retiring, they had like to have put the Dutch regiment of guards into great confusion. Indeed, we had all like to have been in confusion by their means; for one of them, by mistake, was ready to have shot the King, when he cried out, "What! don't ye know your friends from your foes?" and so prevented the blow. They could not persuade the King to hide his George, which increases his danger, as it aggravates the Inniskillen men's dulness. The bullet that I said touched his boot, was not from a cannon, but from a long gun. We have taken 7000 arms, all supposed to be French: they are good prize, for we wanted them extremely. The arms of two regiments of the enemy were found heaped up on the ground. Monsieur la Meloniere was sent by the King to Tradagh, to summon them to a surrender, and to tell them,

that if they delayed till his cannon came up, he would give no quarter. We expect to hear their answer by the next express. King James is gone from Dublin to Athlone; that is the name of the town I had not heard when I began my letter: it is 49 miles from Dublin: it is not a strong place, and, therefore, it is supposed, he will go from thence to Galway, which is 36 miles from Athlone, where he may better defend himself. Lord Portland writes, that thirty Danes have behaved themselves to a miracle; but does not say on what occasion. I hear nothing of the praises of any of the English; indeed, all the praise belongs to God, and not to any other. He has wrought this great salvation for us, not for any worthiness in us, but because it pleased him. For his own name's sake has he done this, and because his mercy endures for ever. Therefore, all our joy ought to be in the Lord, and we ought to rejoice with trembling; for still he holds the rod over us, so that we dare not say the bitterness of death is past. Indeed, we have cause to walk humbly, while that insolent French enemy insults over us, and makes us prisoners, as it were, in our own island. There is nothing that I know of, but the providence of God, that hinders them from acting all manner of violence upon our coasts. Plymouth lies naked before them,—not so much as a governor in the town, nor militia up in the country: our fleet skulked into harbour, and they, for the present, at least, absolute masters of the seas. Yet they are chained up by a Power above theirs, who causeth the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder thereof he restrains. Blessed be his name, that both we and our enemies are in his hands! The Lord enable us to lie very low before him, in a sense of our own nothingness; for what are we, when he comes to contend with us! We shall be delivered from these, as well as from those adversaries in Ireland, when He pleases; and if not, let Him do to us as seems good in his sight.

One thing Mr. Russell bids me add:—he sees it is the opinion of some of the great men in town, that if they print that passage of my Lord Scarborough's, forbidding his men to follow the King, it will need a comment; for though it argues, they say, great presence

of mind in my Lord to do what he did, yet the common people will not easily understand it. The Papists already say that the King's guards would not fight against King James: that is the use they make of it. If either Lord Portland's or Sir Robert Southwell's letter be printed, as Mr. Russell thinks they will, he will to-morrow, by the post, send your Ladyship one of them. Major Parker was killed on King James's side, which I did not know when I named the other two.

Lord Torrington (5) is expected in town to-night, when the tide serves. He lays all the fault on the Commissioners of the Admiralty. I wish I knew where to lay that of having tired your Ladyship with an impertinent, tedious letter, full of contradictions, and every thing bating the good news, that can make it need a pardon: but all this must lie (till that takes it off) on,

Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obliged affectionate Servant and Sister,

F. R.

Young Lady Drogheda (6) was here to-day, and says the man that brought the express yesterday saw her house on fire; yet, poor lady, she is unwilling to believe it.

For the Right Honourable the Lady Russell,
at Woburn Abbey.

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(5) Arthur Herbert, descended from Lord Herbert, of Cherbury. He had commanded the Dutch fleet which brought over King William; for which, and other services at the Revolution, he was created Earl of Torrington. He was now First Commissioner of the Admiralty, and commanded in chief the English and Dutch fleets in the unfortunate engagement off Beachy Head, which (as is known) took place the very day before the battle of the Boyne. He had received positive orders to fight the French fleet wherever he met with it, and therefore engaged 82 ships with 56. In spite of this overwhelming inferiority, he succeeded in saving from destruction the fleets committed to his charge. But England, even then, before the unexampled triumphs of the last twenty years of her naval history, could not brook a failure of victory. Lord Torrington was deprived of his command, and committed to the Tower. He was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and acquitted, but never again employed. He died without children in 1716, and his title became extinct.

(6) Jane, daughter and heiress of Arthur Viscount Loftus, of Elye.

LETTER IX.

[*Lady Russell to Rachael Lady Cavendish,* 1692.]

I DID not think to have scribbled so soon again to you; but the letters I receive telling me so much of your sister's being to marry my Lord Rosse, (*Roos,*) I am not easy you should be a stranger to what ground there is for it, which is a very little yet. Two or three days before I left London, Lady Northampton proposed it. I took a little time to consider, and then told her I would entertain it, if my Lord would like my terms; and so I left it, making no great account of it: yet, if I had had a good opportunity, I had told you, but did not think it worth the while to ask you an audience for it. I did ask Lady Devonshire what sort of youth he was. I heard, about a week after I was in the country, Lord Rutland wrote word that he took my offer for a civil put-off; but this day I have a renewing: he is very eager, and seems to be very generous. As I know more, you shall; but, if you are asked, say if there be any such thing, 'tis in no forwardness, you believe. I hardly see what I write, and my eyes won't endure to do it by a candle. I hate repetition also.

Your affectionate Mother,

Sunday. R. RUSSELL.

For Lady Cavendish.

LETTER X.

[*Lady Russell to the Marchioness of Hartington.*]

Oxon, 22d April, 1697.

HAVING no thought that my dear child had any thing to say to me would ask a present return, your letter being brought to me when it was candle-light, I put by reading it till this morning, when it is time to give my answer; so that you did not write more in haste than I must: but, indeed, there is no hesitating for the answer I shall make to you. I will affirm, no mother ever was or can be more inclined than myself to approve of all compliance in you to my Lord Duke and Lady Duchess; but, in our present case, I must (with pardon) be excepted, in regard as I think both to you and myself. You brought your child too hardly into the world to let me be willing (as I have no doubt my Lord and Lady would not more than I,) that you should be without all the best helps to be had, and to see the success myself; and that would be of troublesome consequence to all parties concerned. But I am so tender that there should be no disorder in my Lord Duke's affairs upon my account, or to give me satisfaction, that I offer this: — if Lord Hartington and you will take such conveniencies as I can give at Southampton-House, then, when the family leaves Barckly-House, if your Lord and you will choose where to plant there yourselves and nursery, you shall be welcome to me, till you are (as I trust you shall be) happily past the hazard of one in your condition. When you are at my house, I will be leaving Oxford as soon as you can desire me to come to you. You will acquaint my Lord and Lady with what I have said; and if they believe (what is very true) that I feel nothing gratifies me in this world, but from my children, this is a natural consequence, — to desire to please myself in every thing I can compass. If I had more time, I need say

no more. Your repeated injunctions not to lose this post have hastened this sooner by one day, the carrier going to-morrow. From, dear Child,

Your ever affectionate Mother,

R. Russell.

Pray present my humble service to my Lord Duke and Lady Duchess; your own Lord, my best services; and blessing to the young person.

I think the least trouble to you will be, that my Lord and Lady Devonshire read what I say.

For the Right Honourable the Marquesse of Hartington, at Barckly-House, London.

LETTER XI.

[*Lady Russell to William first Duke of Bedford* (1), 1699.]

My Lord,

I beg your Grace's patience to read, rather than to hear me speak, for fear of being heard; and what I have to say, I extremely desire may be a secret, it being highly to my son's advantage it should be so. I do affirm this, my Lord, that no child you have is more tender than I am to tell you any thing that may trouble or discompose you. I hope what I have to say will not, when you have well considered my proposal. But first I must open the case.

Your grandson, although he has not lost at play, as the world has taxed him, nor any thing at all at Paris, yet, my Lord, he

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(1) This is the letter referred to in the account of Lady Russell's life.

has been so faulty as to play in Italy for bigger sums than he ought to have done, and has been so unfortunate as to lose; and, not to mince the matter to your Grace, who ought to be told the truth, he has lost, from the time he went out of England, to the time he came to Paris, three thousand pounds, and some odd hundreds. He is so afflicted for this folly, I dare not aggravate his trouble. He dreads your Grace's knowing of it; and he might certainly have prevailed with me to have kept his secret, if I could have preserved his honour, and have done it. I do all I can to assure him your indulgence will not suffer you to be sharp in your anger, when that can bring no remedy. The fault is committed; and, if he keep steady to his resolutions, I hope the grief he has felt will be for his future good, all the rest of his life. But the business now is, how to pay the money, and do it so secretly, that the inquisitive town shall not make it their talk and scorn, and he be exposed, as he calls it, as an easy gentleman, that can be cheated of his money. Your grandson has been so cunning in managing this matter, that Mr. Sherard does not know of more money lost than between four or five hundred pounds. Mr. Hicks knows of near a thousand; and he came to the knowledge of that sum by seeing the poor young creature so sad and oppressed, and so sunk with it, that he really feared his life; which made him beg so hard to know what afflicted him so heavily, that at last he confessed the truth, crying out for the sorrow he should give his parents. Mr. Hicks was so compassionate and generous as to be bound for the money; and so it was kept a secret. Your Grace, nor I were not to know it; and Mr. Hicks now stands bound for it.

I know your Grace is paying a great deal of money for Lord Robert (2), and cannot, if you would, give him the money: but there is no cause to ask it; if your Grace will but give me credit, I will not doubt but to overcome the business to his comfort. Your Grace

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(2) Lord Robert Russell, his fourth son. He married Letitia, widow of Thomas Cheek, Esquire, and died without children.

knows my estate is settled; I kept a power to charge it, but have taken up as much as I can, and be honest. So if I could find credit, I dare not use it, since I should not live or die with comfort: and, besides that, all writings, since my father died to this time, must be considered by the lawyers; and that will make a great noise.

Now, I propose this: — that my son and myself shall be principals in a bond for three thousand pounds. I will find the money; and if your Grace will join as surety with us, I cannot but hope to compass it; and without you grant to do so, I am at my wit's end what to do. To the best of my judgment, your Grace can never have any more trouble than to sign the bond. If my son and myself live, our rents will, in some reasonable time, pay it off: if I die, what I leave is engaged, and my son bound also. If he outlive your Grace, it will be paid, where it properly ought to be, out of his own estate. If my son should die, my estate will then return to me, and be unsettled; so I should be but too well enabled to pay it; and I being principal, your Grace but surety, it can at no time come to be paid by you. I thought, after having struggled through so great a debt as your excellent son left me to pay, and without even having any friend bound for me, I hoped, I say, I should never have asked it; but it is God's will it should be as it is: and who should I apply to besides yourself? If you will be so good to pity him, and be bound with him and me, it will be an unspeakable consolation to him and me, and preserve his credit. If your Grace dares trust me, none but Spencer (3) shall know of the money being taken up; nor he shall not how it is laid out, but that your Grace helps us for present use. If you refuse, I know not what to do, but must try my friends; for I must, if it be possible, help my child this one time, and no more. I hope I have expressed myself that your Grace may understand my meaning to be this: — I will find the three thousand pounds, and be bound, and also my son, only to give us credit, I beg your Grace

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(3) The Honourable Robert Spencer, her cousin.

will be so good as to be bound with us: it will give a mighty ease to the mind of your dutiful daughter,

R. Russell.

Friday, 22d December, 1699.

LETTER XII.

[*Lady Russell to King William.*]

Endorsed by Lady Russell: — "My Letter to the King, some days "after Lord Bedford died, which was on 7th September, 1700."

I am first to ask Your Majesty's pardon, for the liberty I take to trouble you with a letter; but I think it a duty incumbent upon me, after acquainting Your Majesty of the Duke of Bedford's death, as he has left me his executor; his George is in my custody, and I beg to receive Your Majesty's commands, whether it be your pleasure that my son should immediately bring it over to you, or that it shall remain in my possession, till we are blessed with Your Majesty's return to England. My ignorance in things of this nature makes me presume to beg the honour of your commands, that I may not be wanting in the duty and respect that I shall always pay to Your Majesty; and since, Sir, I presume on your goodness to forgive a woman's troubling you, be pleased to permit me, with great submission to your better determination, to make a request in favour of my son, that if you would please to think him worthy of the honour to wear a Garter his grandfather so long enjoyed, not only my son but I know the whole family would always look upon it as a mark of your grace and favour to them; and if any thing could make them show a greater zeal for your service than they now do, it would be the honour you bestow on this young man, who, I hope, will live to

serve Your Majesty with a duty and faithfulness becoming the son of such a grandfather, and father. And here, Sir, I must put a conclusion to my letter, still begging Your Majesty's pardon, if I have presumed to do what I ought not to have done; and that you will please to look upon me as the most faithful of

Your Majesty's
Most obedient Subjects and Servants.

LETTER XIII.

[*Lady Russell to Sir Jonathan Trelawney* (1), *Bishop of Exeter*, 1709.]

My Lord,

I AM much obliged to your Lordship for the account you give me of your transactions with Mr. Reinolds, and the vicar of Tavistock, esteeming the pains you have taken in being so particular, both as a respect, and as proceeding from the same motive that inclined me to speak with your Chancellor, which was, that this matter might be amicably composed. The late Duke of Bedford was a person of great justice, moderation, and courtesy, from which, if he ever swerved, I dare say, it was only through misinformation; but, in managing

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(1) "He was a younger son of Sir Jonathan Trelawney, of Pelynt, in Cornwall; but "his elder brother dying in 1680, he inherited the title of Baronet. He was a man of "polite manners, competent learning, and uncommon knowledge of the world. He was "a true son and friend of the church; and exerted himself with courage and alacrity, "with magnanimity and address, in defence of her just rights and privileges. He was "friendly and open, generous and charitable; was a good companion, and a good man. "He was successively bishop of Bristol, Exeter, and Winchester." See Granger's Biographical Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 521.

While Bishop of Exeter, he was one of the seven sent to the Tower, 1688; yet we are sorry to observe, from the tone of Lady Russell's letter, that she thought he had not abounded in Christian charity towards the vicar of Tavistock.

his business, he was regular to his method, doing it all generally by his officers, and very reserved to his friends and relations. I never knew any thing of this difference till some time after his Grace's death, that Mr. Reinolds, his chief steward, applying himself to me, among other things, acquainted me therewith, which he did upon occasion of a letter he had lately received from the vicar, wherein he gave him to understand that your Lordship had renewed your prosecution, and that he was under some apprehensions my son would not support him as his grandfather would have done; to which, out of pity to the grief and fear he expressed, I ordered the steward to reply to this effect:— that my son being at Newmarket, he could give him, at present, no answer from him; but I bid him tell him, from me, that I did not doubt but my son would assist him in all things that were just and reasonable; and, resolving to get a relation of it as soon as I could from your Lordship's side, I found means to discourse with Doctor Edisbury, your chancellor, of which, I suppose, he has given you a better account than I can. Had I not observed, that most of the differences that are, arise from not having patience, or not using proper means to be truly informed, I should have thought you had singled out this man; but by the course I took I soon understood your orders were general. I agree, my Lord, the vicar ought to observe the rubric, and obey all your canonical injunctions; I am sensible what good effect singing psalms musically has had, in several parishes; and I am sorry a man, especially in so populous a place, should need to be ordered to read prayers Wednesdays and Fridays. In short, my Lord, neither I, nor any that I can persuade, will assist in opposing your just authority; and saving that we are not of their mind who would lay pains and penalties upon people for not conforming to its worship, we are, as much as any, for supporting the Church of England, and encouraging communion with it.

I am satisfied, my Lord, there are many would be very inconsiderable, were it not for being fierce of a party; and for that end they keep up a dissension, when the reason of it is ceased: but I wish those whom I am concerned for to value men according to their worth,

and not for being of a party, and to be assured irreligious and immoral men, of whatever party they are, or whatever they profess, can never be true to friend or country, wanting the principles that should make them so. It highly imports my son to enquire into the things your Lordship relates of an officer of his; and if what he writ to one of the gentlemen you mention be extant, and were put into my son's hands, it would be an undeniable proof, and put the matter past all out-facing. I cannot conclude, before I give your Lordship my thanks for your obliging letters, and your favour to the vicar, upon our account. My son will order his steward to advise him to be more observant for the future, and to let him know he must expect no countenance from him, if he be irregular. I am,

Your Lordship's.

LETTER XIV.

[*Lady Russell to her son the Duke of Bedford.*]

Stratton, July, 1706.

When I take my pen to write this, I am, by the goodness and mercy of God, in a moderate and easy state of health — a blessing I have thankfully felt through the course of a long life, which, (with a much greater help,) the contemplation of a more durable state, has maintained and upheld me through varieties of providences and conditions of life. But all the delights and sorrows of this mixed state must end; and I feel the decays that attend old age creep so fast on me(1), that, although I may yet get over some more years, however, I ought to make it my frequent meditation, that the day is near, when this earthly tabernacle shall be dissolved, and my immortal

(1) Lady Russell was now past seventy years of age.

spirit be received into that place of purity, where no unclean thing can enter; there to sing eternal praises to the great Creator of all things. With the Psalmist, I believe, "at his right hand there are pleasures for evermore:" and what is good and of eternal duration, must be joyful above what we can conceive; as what is evil and of like duration, must be despairingly miserable. And now, my dear child, I pray, I beseech you, I conjure you, my loved son, consider what there is of felicity in this world, that can compensate the hazard of losing an everlasting easy being; and then deliberately weigh, whether or no the delights and gratifications of a vicious or idle course of life are such, that a wise or thoughtful man would choose or submit to. Again, fancy its enjoyments at the height imagination can propose or suggest (which yet rarely or never happens, or if it does, as a vapour soon vanishes); but let us grant it could, and last to fourscore years, is this more than the quickest thought to eternity? Oh, my child! fix on that word, eternity! Old Hobbs, with all his fancied strength of reason, could never endure to rest or stay upon that thought, but ran from it to some miserable amusement. I remember to have read of some man, who, reading in the Bible something that checked him, he threw it on the ground; the book fell open, and his eye fixed on the word eternity, which so struck upon his mind, that he, from a bad liver, became a most holy man. Certainly, nothing besides the belief of reward and punishment can make a man truly happy in his life, at his death, and after death. Keep innocency, and take heed to the thing that is right; for that shall bring a man peace at the last—peace in the evening of each day, peace in the day of death, and peace after death. For my own part, I apprehend, I should not much care (if free from pain) what my portion in this world was,—if a life to continue, perhaps one year or twenty, or eighty; but then, to be dust, not to know or be known any more,—this is a thought has something of horror in it to me, and always had; and would make me careless, if it were to be long or short: but to live, to die, to live again, has a joy in it; and how inexpressible is that joy, if we secure an humble hope to live

ever happily; and this we may do, if we take care to live agreeably to our rational faculties, which also best secures health, strength, and peace of mind, the greatest blessings on earth. Believe the word of God, the Holy Scriptures, the promises and threats contained in them: and what most obstructs our doing so, I am persuaded, is fear of punishment. Look up to the firmament, and down to the deep, how can any doubt a divine power? And if there is, what can be impossible to infinite power? Then, why an infidel in the world? And if not such, who then would hazard a future state, for the pleasure of sin a few days? No wise man, and, indeed, no man that lives and would deserve to see good days; for the laws of God are grateful. In his Gospel, the terrors of majesty are laid aside, and he speaks in the still and soft voice of his Son incarnate, the fountain and spring whence flow gladness. A gloomy and dejected countenance better becomes a galley-slave than a Christian, where joy, love, and hope should dwell. The idolatrous heathen performed their worship with trouble and terror; but a Christian, and a good liver, with a merry heart and lightsome spirit: for, examine and consider well, where is the hardship of a virtuous life? (when we have moderated our irregular habits and passions, and subdued them to the obedience of reason and religion.) We are free to all the innocent gratifications and delights of life; and we may lawfully, nay, further, I say, we ought to rejoice in this beautiful world, and all the conveniences and provisions, even for pleasure, we find in it; and which, in much goodness, is afforded us to sweeten and allay the labours and troubles incident to this mortal state, nay, inseparable, I believe, by disappointments, cross accidents, bad health, unkind returns for good deeds, mistakes even among friends, and, what is most touching, death of friends. But in the worst of these calamities, the thought of a happy eternity does not alone support, but also revive the spirit of a man; and he goeth forth to his labour with inward comfort, till the evening of his day, (that is, his life on earth,) and, with the Psalmist, cries out, "I will consider the "heavens even the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which "thou hast ordained. What is man, that thou art mindful of him,

" or the son of man, that thou shouldest so regard him?" Psalm viii. " Thou madest him lower than the angels, to crown him with glory." Here is matter of praise and gladness. " The fool," as the Psalmist expresses it, " hath said in his heart, there is no God." Or, let us consider the man, who is content to own an invisible power, yet tries to believe, that when man has done living on this earth he lives no more: but I would ask, if any of these unhappy creatures are fully persuaded, or that there does not remain in those men, at times, (as in sickness, or sober thoughtfulness,) some suspicion or doubt, that it may be other than they try to think. And although they may, to shun such a thought, or be rid of such a contemplation, run away from it to some unprofitable diversion, or, perhaps, suffer themselves to be rallied out of such a thought, so destructive to the way they walk in; yet, to be sure, that man does not feel the peace and tranquillity He does, who believes a future state, and is a good man. For, although this good man, when his mind may be clouded with some calamity very grievous to him, or the disorder of vapours to a melancholy temper, I say, if he is tempted to some suspicion, that it is possible it may be other than he believes, (pray observe) such a surmise or thought, nay, the belief, cannot drive him to any horror: he fears no evil, because he is a good man, and with his life all sorrow ends too; therefore, it is not to be denied, he is the wisest man who lives by the Scripture rule, and endeavours to keep God's laws. First, his mind is in peace and tranquillity; he walks sure who keeps innocence, and takes heed to the thing that is right: 2dly, he is secure God is his friend, that Infinite Being; and He has said, " Come unto me ye that are heavy laden, my yoke is easy:" but guilt is, certainly, a heavy load; it sinks and damps the spirits. " A wounded spirit who can bear!" And the evil subtil spirit waits (I am persuaded) to drive the sinner to despair; but godliness makes a cheerful heart.

Now, O man! let not past errors discourage: who lives and sins not? God will judge the obstinate, profane, unrelenting sinner, but full of compassion to the work of his own hand, if they

will cease from doing evil and learn to do well, pray for grace to repent, and endeavour, with that measure which will be given, if sincerely asked for; for at what time soever a sinner repents, (but observe, this is no licence to sin, because at any time we may repent,) for that day we may not live to see; and so, like the fool in the parable, our lamps be untrimmed when we are called upon. Remember, that to forsake vice is the beginning of virtue: and virtue certainly is most conducive to content of mind and a cheerful spirit. He (the virtuous man) rejoiceth with a friend in the good things he enjoys; fears not the reproaches of any; no evil spirit can approach to hurt him here, or accuse him in the great day of the Lord, when every soul shall be judged according as they have done good or evil. Oh, blessed state! fit for life, fit for death! In this good state I wish and pray for all mankind; but most particularly, and with all the ardour I am capable of, to those I have brought into the world, and those dear to them. Thus are my fervent and frequent prayers directed,—that you may die the death of the righteous, and to this end, that Almighty God would endue you all with spiritual wisdom, to discern what is pleasing in his sight.

LETTER XVI.

[*Lady Russell to her daughter the Duchess of Devonshire*, 1708.]

Saturday, 12th August.

At present I feel so small a content in writing or reading letters, that I should not choose it to entertain myself or you; for there is but one subject to think or speak of—one that is not to be cast off, nor yet digested. For my part, I can bring no serious, thinking, considering thought; but turn it all ways, it ever centers in the same one I love not to name: it is dismal; but I throw it away as often as I can, since no result is so taken from my opinion. But my heart must care for those I love (I hope) better than my old self, because

so much younger: perhaps, if as near fourscore as I am, I might be more indifferent. (1) But all this is a digression from the matter I took my pen to set down. I hear you are going, or perhaps gone, to Woburn, from whence your brother seems to intend to leave in a fortnight, as I hear. Now Doctor Sloane told Spencer there had been three gone out of Streatham House of the small-pox; and more died in that parish this summer than any year since the plague, by very many. Now, if to change from an infected air to a better, is thought less safe than staying in it, sure to leave a healthy one for one not so, must be yet more to be apprehended; but any caution from me may not take: but if you, when with them in talk, put the question, if the Doctor would think it adviseable, being all well where they are, to change nearer London, it will not be misunderstood; and when they have considered they must choose for themselves: but if so near, your brother will be so oft in London, that it will be very happy if he escapes. (2) When I left London, my sister Robert (3) was so positive Lady Bedford had resolved to continue at Woburn, that she would not credit my saying I did not know it; and added, she was sure she had bespoke her midwife; but I thought that might be in case of need. If wavering, a word in season may settle it. My service to your Lord and self, with my poor prayers for all mercies and blessings to you both, and yours, closes this from

R. Russell.

All kind service to Mr. Charlton. I desire he will suppress vapours: none on earth knows what is to come.

For the Duchess of Devonshire.

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(1) To what this alludes the Editor has not been able to discover.

(2) Within three years afterwards he fell a sacrifice to the disease his mother so much dreaded for him.

(3) Lady Robert Russell.

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LETTER XVII.

[*Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, to Lady Russell,* 1711.]

I CANNOT keep myself from writing, though I cannot tell how to express the deep sense I have of this new heavy stroke with which God is trying your faith and patience. To lose the only son of such a father, who was become so truly his son in all respects, is, indeed, anew opening a deep wound, which God had, by many special providences, for several years, been binding up and healing. But now you will see, whether you can truly say, "Not my will, but thy will be done." For God's sake, do not abandon yourself once more into a deep inconsolable melancholy: rouse up the spirit God has given you, and say, "The Lord has given, the Lord has taken; blessed be the name of the Lord." When God took his blessed father, he was left as a branch to spring up in his stead: now God has taken him; but the branches are left in whom he is to live again. Remember you are now much older than when you suffered yourself to sink so much under a great, though a just load. You cannot now stand under what you bore then: and you do not know but that, as God has helped you in so eminent a manner to do your duty to your own children, he may yet have a great deal for you to do to your children's children; and, therefore, study to compose your spirits into a resignation to the holy will of God, and see what remains for you yet to be done before your course is finished. I could not help giving this vent to that true and hearty concern I have in every thing that touches you in so tender a part. I can do no more but follow this with my most earnest prayers to the God of all comfort for you and all yours,

more particularly for the sweet remnants of him, whom God has taken to himself.

I am, beyond all expression,
Madam,
Your most humble and most obedient Servant,
GI. SARUM.

Salisbury, 30th May, 1711.

LETTER XVIII.

[*Lady Russell to the Earl of Galway.* About 1712 or 1713.]

HAVING scribbled a great deal but last post, there is reason I should be quiet this; but the letter I have read, under your own hand, affects me so much, I cannot forbear to say your right hand was not more easy to be read. (1) However, the chief errand of this is to require of you not to make a custom of it to me; for if you will but take care, in case you are not well, that I hear, by any hand, how you are, in a line or two, I shall be best content; and when I do not hear, believe your health pretty good, at least: but your Lordship is so puffed up with the honours you receive from our sex, you must brag! The more serious of your papers I shall say no more to, than that, as it is written in a fair character, so I do, with much ease, read the words; but, as you rightly observe, the difficulty lies in practice,

(1) Lord Galway had lost his right arm at the unfortunate battle of Almanza, where he commanded the allied troops of England and Portugal, and was beaten by the Duke of Berwick, the 24th April, 1707. For this defeat, and his subsequent conduct during the Spanish campaign, he was arraigned by Lord Peterborough in the House of Lords, in February, 1710. "The services of Lord Galway, which had often been signally meritorious, ought to have protected him from the severe censures with which he was now loaded; though his errors or misconduct had been established by more impartial and satisfactory evidence than was produced upon this occasion." — Somerville's History of Queen Anne, p. 422.

yet, neither you nor myself have the smiles of fortune too lavishly bestowed upon us, or to abide by us, as to draw our hearts or minds as to choose, and be fond of what the world at present affords us: but if, with the length of our days here, we can feel our desires and wills docible, willing to submit, as to improve our best thoughts and performances, then our lives are granted as a blessing, as we may assure ourselves.

Pray, my Lord, be not in care about my writings. (2) Indeed, they are not worth your reading, nor the postage: but I consider, if any body living will think them so, it is yourself and Lady Norton (3); and I often feel myself willing to relieve my thoughts, so apt to reflect upon times past, when to look forward to what is to come should be my care, my comfort, or my dread. God's grace preserve me from the last, and strengthen the first to me, to the end of those few days, or years, I have to struggle through. I cannot end with better words, for my own behalf, or that of the few friends left now in the world, to the satisfaction of Lord Galway's truly affectionate cousin, and humble servant,

R. Russell.

I am going to make a visit out of town, to sister Vaughan. (4) I cannot look over what I have set down, and care not for the task; for I ever find mistakes, wrong words, or missing right ones, takes as much time as writing does, and more trouble to my eyes.

If you have had venison, I doubt it is not very fat: what comes up is not so yet.

Thursday, 7th Aug.

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(2) If this alludes to original compositions, none remain but a few scattered thoughts on religious subjects, all repeated in her letters; some self-examinations on the Ten Commandments before she received the sacrament; instructions to others on the same subject; and some notes of sermons.

(3) Lady Betty Norton, her niece.

(4) Lady Vaughan, the wife of John Lord Vaughan, who succeeded Francis Lord Vaughan, Lady Russell's first husband, was Anne, daughter of the Marquis of Halifax, by Dorothy, the daughter of the first Lord Sunderland and Saccarissa.

LETTER XIX.

[*Lady Russell to Richard Norton, Esquire.*]

Endorsed by Lady Russell: — "To Mr. Norton, September, 1713; but what sent, altered in many places, when written fair."

Sir,

The words I have read in your letter to my dear niece, dated September 8th, leave no room for me to hesitate what I ought to do; that is, first to acknowledge the justice of your thoughts, in believing I would be what I ought to be; and I were very unworthy of it, if I declined, to the uttermost of my abilities, to be of use, in the least or biggest occasion for it. The present is one of those the most to be lamented; but, Sir, my business is not to speak much on the uncomfortable part; the separation is agreed on by you both. My earnest prayer is, and will be, that it be not unhappy to either; and what is conceived to be of use to the more easy passing of our time on the earth, ought to be chosen and submitted to; and next to consider well, and then determine to agree to what is hoped will be to the future satisfaction of both, as I sincerely desire it may. And now, Sir, I entreat you will accept of my plain way of expressing my meaning. —— *Here she goes into the details of her niece's fortune and settlements, and what Mr. Norton is to allow her.*

To make a show she never affected at any time of her life, and much less now in her later and unfortunate circumstances, ever to be lamented on her side. Pomp was never valued by her; but to want necessaries she never yet knew, nor does it enter into her mind that you would have her. You, Sir, know the world too well to doubt but that every tongue will be at liberty. I am sure, to such as will expostulate the matter with her, her answer will be ready, that none

should complain that have what they asked and all they desired. If this pleases you, all may be calmly and quietly settled, and all pass in silence: no contributions to the town tattles; and, although in most things it is to be despised, yet I exempt those of this nature. My zeal carries me too far; I will have done when I have added this, that you will still continue your partiality to,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

What I have wrote, there is none upon earth knows any one word of.

LETTER XX.

[*Lady Russell to her Daughter the Duchess of Devonshire.*]

Tuesday, September 4. 1716.

I READ yours, September 1st, with great content, the young gentleman is so well. It is to no use to murmur that you could not be satisfied with taking the journey; the rather also because I believe I should have done the same. It is so fine a season, I trust your return to Derbyshire will be easy; your mind would not have been such if you had not done as you did. I hope the young gentleman will have a grateful, as well as pleasing memory of your tenderness. I shall be easy with a line or two from Lady Mary (1), how you got to Chatsworth: at your first coming you will have a great deal to do, and so for the short time you can stay. I see no cause to fear, but that all will be as we are, quiet (2); but it is the temper of most to fear,

(1) Lady Mary Cavendish, her eldest daughter, who died unmarried in 1719.

(2) She means politically quiet, of which the rebellion of the year before had left doubts.

or seem to do so. The season is exceedingly fine, not much burnt up; but the farmers, for talk sake, ever wishing for what they have not: but it is good walking, and that is my best diversion. I cannot easily add any words to make this more a diversion to you, than that I thank God I have as much easy health as my years can have; and memory as yet enough to take a pleasure when I hear of what I love most, and desire all good may be their portion; which will afford content, while any thought whatever of good or ill remains in the head or heart of your ever affectionate mother,

R. Russell.

My kind service to your Lord and children: blessings to all. I would Lord Hartington were with you.

To her Grace the Duchess of Devonshire.

Dorothy Sidney, Countess of Sunderland, was the eldest daughter of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, by Dorothy Percy, daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland. She was born about the year 1620, and married, in 1639, Henry Spencer, Lord Spencer of Wormleighton, and afterwards Earl of Sunderland. He was killed at the battle of Edgehill, leaving his widow at the age of 23, with a son and two daughters.

The long and remarkable political career of her son Robert, Earl of Sunderland, is perhaps more known than that of any of his contemporaries. Her eldest daughter was the first wife of Sir George Saville, successively Viscount, Earl, and Marquis of Halifax. Her second daughter died unmarried. She herself, after remaining ten years a widow, remarried in 1652, Robert Smythe, Esq., the eldest son of Sir John Smythe, of Bounds, in Kent (1), by whom she had a son, Robert, the grandfather of Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, who died without issue, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, in 1778.

This lady, although a daughter of the illustrious house of Sidney, the niece of Sir Philip, and the sister of Algernon, is most known to posterity from having been celebrated by Waller, under the name of Saccarissa. She seems, both by her personal beauty, and her talents, to have merited the eulogies bestowed on her, better than most of the real, or imaginary mistresses of poets.

That the passion of Waller for her was merely the admiration of a young man sublimated by a poetical imagination, his character and

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(1) Evelyn thus mentions her second marriage: — "9th July, 1652, we went to see Penshurst, the Earl of Leicester's, famous once for its gardens and excellent fruit, and for the noble conversation that was wont to meet there, celebrated by that illustrious person, our Philip Sidney, who there composed divers of his pieces. It stands in a park finely watered, and was now full of company, on the marriage of my old fellow-collegiate, Mr. Robert Smythe, who married my Lady Dorothy Sidney, widow of the Earl of Sunderland." Evelyn, vol. i. p. 262.

his verses, and her situation and her early marriage with a man she loved, all combine to prove. The coldness of which he complains, was not likely then to have been mitigated by a just estimation of her good luck, which, in addition to all the advantages she had received from nature and from fortune, had given her that of a poet to record her charms. For it may be said of beauty, yet more certainly than of valour:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia *Vate* sacro.

The following letters to her son-in-law, Lord Halifax, had been carefully preserved and endorsed by him. On the death of his son William, Marquis of Halifax, in 1700, without male heirs, they descended to his daughter and coheiress the Lady Dorothy Saville, married to Richard Earl of Burlington, and are now in the possession of her great-grandson, the Duke of Devonshire.

LETTERS

FROM

DOROTHY SIDNEY,

COUNTESS DOWAGER OF SUNDERLAND,

TO

GEORGE SAVILLE, EARL OF HALIFAX,

IN

1680.

LETTERS

FROM

DOROTHY SIDNEY, COUNTESS DOWAGER OF SUNDERLAND,

TO

GEORGE SAVILLE, EARL OF HALIFAX,

IN 1680.

LETTER I.

June 9th.

I AM, my dear Lord, now employed by my son (1) to write to you, though he intends to do it himself this night; but he is not sure of his time, because my brother (2) is expected every minute. He bid me tell you he cannot be at Althorpe this fortnight. He desires you will not disappoint him of seeing you; he says he has a great deal to tell you, and that you will like very well. I have heard that, which makes me hope the King will disappoint those that are enemies to him and peace, by the best arms he can do it with — acts of justice, moderation, and observing the laws, and the using no tricks, but dealing sincerely, openly, without any secrets, especially such as passed between my

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(1) Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland. He had been made Secretary of State the preceding year, on the resignation of Sir Joseph Williamson.

(2) The Honourable Henry Sidney had been sent Minister to the Hague in November, 1679. Burnet says, "Lord Sunderland manages the States by the means of his uncle, Mr. Sidney."

Lord Danby and Mr. Montague. (3) The King was here yesterday at council, which was doubtful the day before. My son returned with His Majesty; but my daughter (4) is here to my cost: she has begged a dinner of me to-day. All the talk now is of those that are going to Tangiers (5) immediately — my Lord Mulgrave (6), who commands all, and several volunteers, I know not who. My Lord Shrewsbury (7) did offer to go, but the doctors say, the sickness at sea will put out his other eye, therefore the King has commanded him not to go. My Lord Mordaunt (8) does; whose being married

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(3) These were the money-treaties with France, which had passed through the medium of Mr. Montague, while ambassador at Paris, and Lord Danby, then Lord Treasurer. See Burnet's account of the first public notice taken of this business, vol. ii. p. 217. Octavo Edition.

(4) The Lady Anne Digby, wife of Robert Earl of Sunderland, was the daughter of George Digby, the last Earl of Bristol of that family.

(5) Tangier, a sea-port town on the northern coast of Africa, had been taken from the Moors by the Portuguese, in 1471. It was part of the portion brought to Charles II. in marriage with Catharine of Braganza, and proved a yet more unlucky possession than that of the Queen herself. "After the King had kept Tangier twenty years, and had been "at a vast expense in making a mole before it, in which several sets of undertakers had "failed, indeed, in the main design, but had succeeded in enriching themselves, and the "work was now brought near perfection, which seemed to give us the key of the Mediter-"ranean, he, to deliver himself from that charge, sent Lord Dartmouth with a fleet to "destroy all the works, and bring home all our men, in 1684." — Burnet, vol. ii. p. 438.

At the beginning of the year 1680, the Moors had besieged it, and succeeded in destroying a part of the works, during the government of Lord Inchiquin. The present expedition was sent out to reinforce the garrison, not without fears, which we find justified in the following letter, that the fort would be taken before its arrival.

(6) John Sheffield, afterwards (1703) created Duke of Buckingham.

(7) Charles Talbot, afterwards (1694) created Duke of Shrewsbury.

(8) The same who afterwards, under the name of Lord Peterborough, was so distinguished by his campaigns in the war of the Spanish succession, during the reign of Queen Anne. It is of him whom Pope says,

"——— And he whose genius pierced the Iberian lines,
"Now plants my quincunx, and now ranks my vines,
"And tames the genius of the stubborn plain,
"Almost as quickly as he conquer'd Spain."

few do doubt, and that he repents it, and is ashamed. The sending these men does cost 58,000l.; and does not disorder the Exchequer at all in the rules that they have set. They hope, if the wind is good, to be there before the fort is taken: if they should be to get it back again, it will be hot service. They will have many prayers. This day will come out all the examinations about the black box (9), with a declaration, that will not, I suppose, legitimate the Duke of Monmouth. There is a private affair as much talked of in town as any thing of more importance, which is, the buying the dukedom (10) for the Pierpoint family. Mr. Pierpoint came to me two days ago, much alarmed with the belief that it would be had: he said, his sister Pierpoint had a promise of it; that she had been with his aunt to see the security for the 20,000l.: to that she would add 3000l. to be a duchess into the bargain. Three thousand pounds, I believe, have been offered to be added to the 20,000l.; and that she owned a promise of it. This I did wonder at very much: I thought I had good reason to think it would not be done; but Court resolutions are not so firm as the laws of the Medes and Persians. He desired me to enquire, as I have; and am now assured that the King has positively and scornfully rejected it, as not allowing

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He married a daughter of a Sir Alexander Frazer, probably at this time, as he had a son who died, leaving children, in 1710.

(9) These were the depositions before the Privy Council, relative to the supposed marriage of King Charles with Mrs. Walters, the Duke of Monmouth's mother, — a connection of which Charles, had it suited his conveniency, or had his wishes not been opposed by his situation, would, perhaps, have been more willing to have established, than to have destroyed the legitimacy.

(10) This treaty for the purchase of a Dukedom, so publicly talked of and canvassed, shows, in a strong light (in spite of Lady Sunderland's assurance of the manner in which it had been scornfully rejected) the opinions entertained of the venality and poverty of the Court. The *Somebody*, who believed the offer would have been accepted, must be no other than the Duchess of Portsmouth, by whose encouragement, and through whose means, it was probably made.

any such thing to be sold. Mrs. Pierpoint is abominably abused by Somebody, perhaps not meaning to do it neither; but believing the poverty of the Court would take such a sum, and they would have had a snip out of it, the proposal has been brought to every body that has any credit: and but yesterday, Mrs. Pierpoint was busy to get the money upon the security; for my Lord Dorchester (11) pauses at it, and says he cannot pay the money, nor does not desire to be a duke. There is much notice taken of Mr. Hyde's (12) being often with Sir William Jones, who is sorry, with all his heart, he is not Attorney-General. (13) My son speaks very confidently of the Parliament sitting in November (14); if there is occasion from abroad, sooner. Your Lordship knows he is sanguine; and he believes the King of France will not fall upon Flanders this summer. My Lady Scroope (15) is very angry,

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(11) Henry, the first Marquis of Dorchester, of the name of Pierpont, which title became extinct in him, and was revived in his family by Queen Anne.

(12) Laurence Hyde, second son of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. He married the Lady Henrietta Boyle, the 5th and favourite daughter of the first Earl of Burlington. In a MS. common-place book of Lady Burlington's, (who was the daughter and heiress of the last Earl of Cumberland,) in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, is an account of the manner in which this marriage was settled, under the immediate auspices of the Duchess of York, (Mr. Hyde's sister,) and a promise from the King of especial favour and advancement.

(13) Sir William Jones had been Attorney-General in 1674. See Burnet's character of him.

(14) The Parliament met October 21st of this year.

(15) Lady Scroope was the widow of Sir Adrian Scroope, who died about 1667. She was the daughter of Sir Robert Carr, of Sleaford, in Lincolnshire. Evelyn, in his Diary, mentions "my Lady Scroope, the great witte," going with him, and other persons, to see Montague-House, (now the British Museum,) then newly built, 13th October, 1683. She died in the autumn of 1685.

In Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Men, vol. iii. p. 379. there is a curious account of Sir Adrian Scroope having been left for dead on the field at Edgehill, given on the authority of Dr. Harvey, the celebrated discoverer of the circulation of the blood, who was himself at the

Mr. Saville (16) says, with His Most Christian Majesty, for refusing her a pass: he has done the same for my Lady Winchester (17): he says it is only to steal custom (18); he is very peevish to us now. My Lord Bodmin (19) behaves himself so foolishly, he must be called home: it is not imaginable what things he does. My brother has got such praise, I am afraid he will be as proud of it as he was once of his face. (20) If I see him before Saturday I will write again; he wrote to me that I should, though nobody else did in town; my son has left a note, that he shall not stay at all here; and he must soon return to the Hague again. They say there shall be no more underhand dealings to gain Parliament-men. The King dined yesterday at my Lord Ossory's. (21) He is not very forward to dine at my Lord of Bedford's. (22) His Lordship turned off a great many great fishes he

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engagement, in the capacity of physician to Charles the First, and to whose care the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, then children, were committed during the heat of the action. "He (*Dr. Harvey*) told me that Sir Adrian Scroope was dangerously wounded there, and "left for dead among the dead men, stript; which happened to be the saving of his "life. It was cold, clear weather, and a frost that night, which staunched his bleeding; "and, about midnight, or some hours after his hurt, he awaked, and was fain to draw "a dead body upon him, for warmth sake."

(16) The Honourable Henry Saville, brother to Lord Halifax. He had been Envoy Extraordinary to France, and was made Vice-Chamberlain to the King, in September of this year.

(17) Second wife to the Marquis of Winchester, afterwards Duke of Bolton. See note to Lady Russell's Letters, page 30.

(18) To smuggle.

(19) John Robartes, Lord Bodmin, had been sent Minister to Denmark in the preceding February. He was afterwards created Earl of Radnor, and President of the Council.

(20) He was the *Beau Sidney* of the Memoires de Grammont.

(21) Thomas, Earl of Ossory, son of the first Duke of Ormond. He died universally lamented, soon after the date of this letter. See Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 488.

(22) Probably on account of the line in politics taken by his son, Lord Russell.

had bespoke: my son says, it is because he would not eat so much. (23) Mr. Waller is very angry with my Lord Cavendish; you have reason to be so too. He has not written to his father for above six months; and he is very earnest to have him go down with his wife for a fortnight, and he cannot be persuaded. (24) Waller does swear and stare, that he would have half his estate now, and will not make him a leg for it. (25) His whole business now is to watch where my Lady Betty Felton (26) goes, to follow her. My Lord Plymouth (27) goes to Tangiers, Middleton (28) and Lumley (29); who more, I know not. I thank God our gallant (30) is not here. It will be a terrible business if any thing. I believe not many do go. As soon as my Lady Winchester came into the ship, a fellow went to a rope, and by the wind it caught about his neck, and in a minute cut off his

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(23) It would seem that William Earl of Bedford was remarkable for a good appetite. Ruvigny, (Lord Galway,) in a letter to Lady Russell, says, complaining of his health in Spain, "J'ai perdu entierement l'appetit, que Lord Bedford appeloit son meilleur "ami."

(24) Lord Cavendish (the first Duke of Devonshire) had married Lady Mary Butler, daughter of the Duke of Ormond, and sister to Lord Ossory.

(25) It is amusing to hear Saccarissa thus speaking of Waller, in their mutual old age.

(26) Lady Betty Felton is the same *Belle* frequently mentioned in Lady Russell's Letters. See page 57.

(27) Lord Plymouth was a natural son of Charles II. by Mrs. Catharine Peg, daughter of Thomas Peg, Esquire, of Yeldersley, in Derbyshire. He had married a daughter of Sir Thomas Osborne, (the first Duke of Leeds,) and died this year at Tangiers, during the siege by the Moors.

(28) The Earl of Middleton, son to him who had been Commissioner from the King, and had governed Scotland. See frequent mention of the father, in Burnet's History. Of the son, he says, he was "a man of a generous temper, but without much religion; well "learned, of a good judgment, and a lively apprehension." Burnet, vol. ii. p. 437.

(29) Richard Lord Lumley, afterwards Earl of Scarborough. He was one of the six who signed the association, inviting over the Prince of Orange.

(30) "Our Gallant," probably means Lord Spencer, the eldest son of Robert Earl of Sunderland, and the writer's grandson.

head, and it fell down as if it had been done with an axe. I thought this so strange, that it was as fit to be put in my letter as most of it. My dear Lord, be a little kind to your poor old, constant, passionate lover of you.

D. S.

Pray let me know if this comes to you. My humble service to my Lady (31), and love to Nan. (32)

LETTER II.

June 20th.

WHAT measures soever you take of my kindness and good-will, I fear, my dear Lord, you cannot but think me impertinent in writing so many letters to you. By this post you will receive my son's desire to meet him: on Tuesday he intends to go. He says you will, he knows, be well satisfied with what is already done and intended. My brother Harry will go to Althorpe: he longs to see you, he says, and more of your friends: I saw them both yesterday, and they told me so. My son had a sore mouth that vexed him, with the ill news from Tangiers, that the fort is taken. Our men must get it back again: a terrible scene, they say, that will be. My Lord Middleton (1) is to go to the Emperor as envoy. I am told by

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(31) The second wife of Lord Halifax, Gertrude Pierpont, daughter of William Pierpont, of Thoresby, second son of the Earl of Kingston.

(32) "Nan," was the Lady Anne Saville, the daughter of Lord Halifax by his first wife, and, consequently, grand-daughter to the writer. She afterwards married John Lord Vaughan, second son of Francis Earl of Carberry, who became Lord Vaughan on the death of his eldest brother, the first husband of Lady Russell.

(1) The same mentioned in the foregoing letter. He was made Secretary of State on the removal of Lord Godolphin to the Treasury, in 1684.

our ministers we are assured of his declaring at the Diet to be in league with us and the Dutch; and my brother says, he does not doubt but, by Michaelmas, almost all the Princes of Europe will do so too. He says, that from this city did come letters to the States of Holland, to persuade them not to make a league with us; for we were in so ill condition by the divisions amongst ourselves, if they quitted France for us, they were ruined. This did stagger them awhile. It is certain the mutineers (2) are out of their wits, and may be ashamed of the lies they have told: either they have so ill intelligence, that they cannot for that be fit for great undertakings, or too little truth to be so. Sir William Jones invited my brother Harry to dinner; and he told him some of the truths he will tell you. The man lifted up his eyes and hands in such a wonder, as if he had been in the Indies; and he tells nothing but what was known from him before; but they said it was all lies and cheat: now they cannot deny it, they are turning it to ill consequence. Yesterday my brother Smith (3) dined at my Lord Shaftesbury's, and thought him pettish and out of humour extremely. Mr. Hampden (4) came in before dinner, and said, "My Lord, have we a league with the Dutch?" — "Yes," says my Lord. — Says Hampden, "This will be all turned against us: we shall have the Prince of Orange with an army here." They are so mad, they know not what they say. He whispered to my Lord Shaftesbury, and Smith heard him say, "I am afraid this will fool

(2) Thus the courtiers of that day, called those in opposition to their measures.

(3) Lady Sunderland had remarried, in 1652, Mr. Smith, son and heir of Sir John Smith, of Bounds, in Kent. The person here mentioned was her husband's brother.

(4) Mr. Hampden was grandson to John Hampden, of Hampden, in Buckinghamshire, who had so nobly stood a trial for ship-money in the last reign. He had thus a sort of hereditary right to be on the popular side in all political disputes. He was himself the last person tried for the Rye-House plot, which had proved fatal to Lord Russell, and to Algernon Sydney; but as there were no two witnesses of any sort against him, he was only indicted for a misdemeanor, and was fined in the enormous sum of forty thousand pounds! — the greatest fine that had ever been levied by the Court of King's Bench.

the Parliament." These are good Englishmen and Protestants! I have been too long upon politics, considering that you will know more in a few days than I shall do this twelvemonth, by those who will tell you true, that I am ashamed I have written so much. I am never better pleased, than when I am told those things will be done that my Lord Halifax will approve; for then I am sure that is good for the nation; and my son being for those ways too, is a satisfaction to me. Tom Pelham (5) and Ned Montague (6) are so out of countenance for the lies they have told me, and not believing the truths I told them, they believe every word my brother Harry says.

Here is my secret; I fear Mr. Pierpoint (7) will not prove a good husband: he is yet fond of her, but so unquiet in his house, and so miserable, the servants say, in all that is not for show, that they are all weary, and coming away. He calls the women all the ill names that are, and meddles with every thing in the kitchen much. I have not spoken with her alone a great while. All this is at Montague's, and will soon be every where. Yesterday, I heard he would put away her woman, for saying, God bless her mistress, she would be glad never to see her master again. She is very melancholy; but there is not a word of dislike to any thing of her behaviour. I believe she does not know what to do in a house. The King was yesterday here, though the day before there was a council at Windsor. My Lord President (8) was there, and my Lord of Essex. (9) My

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(5) Lady Sunderland's nephew, son to her sister, Lady Lucy Sidney, married to Sir John Pelham.

(6) A brother of Ralph, the first Duke of Montague, who died unmarried.

(7) Gervaise Pierpont, fifth son of William Pierpont, of Thoresby, married Lucy, daughter of Sir John Pelham, of Laughton, in Sussex, and, consequently, niece to Lady Sunderland. Mr. Pierpont was, in 1703, made Lord Ardglass.

(8) John Robartes, Earl of Radnor.

(9) Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex. The same sent to the Tower, in 1683, for his participation in the supposed Rye-House plot, and found there, with his throat cut, on the very day, and during the proceedings on Lord Russell's trial.

dear Lord, though the length of my letter does not show the great haste I am in, the sense will. I am,

Yours,
With all the affection you can think,
D. S.

LETTER III.

I DID not intend, my dear Lord, to have troubled you to-day; but I am put into choler at some who ought to be your friends; and if Tom Thynne (1) has not more wrong than I believe, he has done the basest thing to you. He particularly, but some others too, have said that you have written letters to them, to assure them, that, though there were snares laid for you, they should find you would not be caught. My son says, he does not believe a tittle of it; yet he and Mr. Hyde have been told that Thynne has not only said it, but given out copies of the letters that you wrote to him to this purpose, to several persons. For my part, I believe whoever will give a copy of a friend's letter, will frame it all, and your cousin's reputation, between man and man, is bad enough for it I assure you; and so I will tell him, that he will be a good while before he is bought off by any place from his mutiny, which he is thought to have as much mind to, as any mutineer of them all. My son says, he is sure it cannot be; it is neither your stile, nor ever was your practice, any thing like this to return to your friends, who have desired your company for your personal merit; and, for his part, to

(1) Thomas Thynne, Esq. of Longleat, who, within a twelvemonth after the date of this letter, was assassinated in his carriage, in Pall Mall, at the instigation of Count Könings-marck. See a curious and detailed account of the examination of witnesses on this subject, in Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, page 135.

be near you, whose sincerity and judgment he should sooner rely upon than anybody's; and a proceeding not fair, he shall never suspect my Lord Halifax for, and this would not be that; but he thought it was fit to write it to you; it is what they have done to others in a degree. It is something like what Mr. Montague said, when many of his acquaintance were taken into the council, and he left: A pox on them! if he had thought they would have gone without him, he would never have brought out my Lord Danby's letter. (2) They are jealous that you have been invited to Court (3); and why they should think you did not mean to do as you did, when your occasions in the country did permit your coming, I know not, by any thing I have ever heard. They have said a great deal more, as is reported; that you wrote before you went to Althorpe to some here, that you were to go to Althorpe, and your court friends, several of them, would meet you; but you would be firm against their persuasions. I was so cautious, that I never mentioned your going till they were gone, suspecting, from the abundance of lies that I have heard, some would be made upon it. As to your particular, I have been told they have said things, by the way of undertaking for you, that I was sure they never had authority from you for: they are mad any body should be more valued than they. If they do expect to be much sought to, they will, I am told, be mistaken. Their violent running against the Duke (*of York*) will make them do more, because they have done so much. What honours may come, I know not; but yet all the several parties of this kind are by all called, but my Lord Shaftesbury's followers. I am so vexed to have your name abused by these common cheats, that it has put me out of my little stuff I had to say. My son came and dined with me to-day, which he has not done these seven years, because he had no other time, and told me this, believing you

(2) This was Lord Danby's letter to Mr. Montague, while ambassador to France, relative to the money-treaty which was made the ground of Lord Danby's impeachment.

(3) See Lady Russell's Letters, page 48.

might write something to me of it upon his letter. It has made me so hot, loving my friend as myself; and if anybody did such a trick to me, I am sure I would never see them more. I reflect now upon little half things that I have been told, which makes me think part, if not all, is true. Jones (*Sir William*) has been with the Duke, I hear; I know not for what. He says now, that my brother's business could not be determined otherwise than it is, after he had taken so many fees of my brother Leicester. (4) Your brother and my Lady Scroope came last night. He is gone to Windsor with my son. I shall not have the happiness yet to see his good shape, and good face; for one, my Lord Sunderland says, is no bigger than his, and his face never before so good; his dress most decent: his wisdom — he has brought the Duchess of Portsmouth a great, fine present. The King of France will be a peaceable prince this summer. Yesterday the judges had orders, from King and Council, to convict all Papists strictly charged, and not to prosecute other Dissenters from the Church of England, This was my Lord Sunderland's good deed. I told him I had long been angry with all that would put them in one rank; I was glad my own flesh and blood was of my mind. I heard, at a great meeting of these busy people, they said they had a spy upon them, sent by my Lord Sunderland. He does protest he sent nobody; nor did he know where they were. The Duke of Buckingham is come off with honour. Blood (5) is run away; the others, found guilty; and my Lord of Buckingham makes himself sure of 30,000l. fine. (6) Mr. Montague does not appear amongst the discontented in public. He is

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(4) Philip Earl of Leicester, her brother, had contested a legacy of five thousand one hundred pounds, left by their father, Robert Earl of Leicester, to his son, Algernoon; and had instituted a suit in Chancery against his brother, which was at last determined in favour of Algernoon.

(5) This was a trial on an infamous accusation against the Duke of Buckingham, by Blood, the same man who had attempted stealing the Crown in 1671.

(6) June 25th, 1680, Mr. Thomas Blood, Mr. Edward Christian, and others, were brought to their trial, for a conspiracy against the Duke of Buckingham, and found guilty. Damages laid at ten thousand pounds. It seems to have been doubted whether this was

going into France. It is time for me to go from troubling you, that I love so well as to be very sorry any thing should. My dear Lord, take all I do in good part, for it is so meant.

D. S.

July 1st.

LETTER IV.

July 3d.

I OUGHT to ask pardon for being too bold with any that pretend to be friends to my dear Lord Halifax, though I do not think them so, as I doubt I was in my last letter, written in choler; but I think, as I did then, that they are liars, and so do your other friends. I have a better subject now — my Lady Scroope's commendation of your

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a scheme of Blood's against the Duke, or a counter plot of the Duke's, to entrap Blood. For further particulars of the extraordinary life and adventures of this person, see the Biographia Britannica, vol. ii. at his article. Evelyn gives the following account of dining in company with Blood, 10th May, 1671: — "Dined at Mr. Treasurer's, (*Sir Thomas "Clifford's,*) where dined Monsieur de Grammont, and several French noblemen, and one "Blood — that impudent, bold fellow, who had, not long before, attempted to steal the "Imperial Crown itself out of the Tower, pretending curiosity of seeing the regalia there, "when, stabbing the keeper, though not mortally, he boldly went away with it, through "all the guards, taken only by the accident of his horse falling down. How he came to "be pardoned, and even received into favour, not only after this, but several other ex-"ploits, almost as daring, both in Ireland and here, I never could come to understand. "Some believed he became a spy of several parties, being well with the sectaries and en-"thusiasts, and did His Majesty service that way, which none alive could do so well as "he: but it was, certainly, as the boldest attempt, so the only treason of this sort that "ever was pardoned. The man had not only a daring, but a villainous, unmerciful look, "a false countenance, but very well spoken, and dangerously insinuating." Evelyn, vol. i. p. 413.

son. (1) Of his wit, she says great things; of his disposition, she believes very well, by all he says of those he should show it best to. For his discretion in marriage, she will undertake you may leave it to him; for he will do himself no hurt in that. There is a Protestant, that, he says, is the handsomest woman he ever saw, but she is not rich enough for him: her portion is not above 8000l. English. There is another very rich, that I told your Lordship was spoken of for Spencer. (2) My Lady Scroope had heard it; but she says she is not fit for him: she is eighteen years old. Her mother sent my daughter Sunderland a fan, with diamonds upon the sticks, that cost fifty pistoles: she had sent her a Japan cabinet; this is Madame de Gouvernet. Your son says, he could be in love, but he can stop it before it is any trouble to him. (3) My Lady Scroope says she is sure he has no attachment: she says he does very pleasantly rally his uncle (4) with watching his ways, and he is as fond of him as can be. She did not know that he loved play. She says he went his uncle's half two or three times, at my Lady Exeter's, at small ombre, and at the fair for some little trifles; but not else at all. Mr. Montague talks now of going next month into France: he will return, I suppose, as he sees occasion: some of his company is grown too hot for him. I am told that Sir William Jones does say, they cannot bring an impeachment into Hicks's Hall against the

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(1) The Honourable Henry Saville, grandson to the writer. He died without children, in his father's life-time.

(2) Robert Lord Spencer, eldest son of the second Earl of Sunderland. He died unmarried at Paris in 1688, on his return from a mission of compliment to the Duke of Modena, on the death of the Duchess, mother of James the Second's queen.

(3) This, however, it would seem, he found he had either not the power, or not the will to do; for he married this lady, Hester de la Tour, daughter of the Marquis de Gouvernet. Her mother, the person here mentioned, remained long after in England. See frequent mention of her in Edward, the second Earl of Clarendon's *Journal*.

(4) Henry Saville, Lord Halifax's brother. He had been Envoy Extraordinary to France, and was made Vice-Chamberlain to the King this year.

Duke: at first there were not so many Lords appeared for the indictment as were named. They do think they have gone too far already to be forgiven. They may take Mr. Howe's (5) saying; to cure the ills they have done, they must do greater; which is their meaning no doubt. I was told, one of them said, "Oh, that we had my Lord Halifax!" and they were asked for what? "To be of my Lord Shaftesbury's school, or his retinue, he is fit for either; nobody minds any of them, but as his followers." Some say the Duchess of York is with child, others that she is melancholy, not for Mrs. Sedley (6), but greater matters. The Duke appears very thoughtful. I have not seen your brother yet: he had good intentions, but they did not come to performance. My Lady Scroope says, he is a very discreet minister. The King of France's (7) mistress does not go the journey with him; for a certain infirmity she has, which has cost 2500 pistoles to cure, and not made her able for motion yet, and is likely to make her be quitted; but she is a duchess, with some land belonging to the title, and 22,000 pistoles a-year pension, and a vast deal of jewels and plate, and all that belongs to her greater than any of his women ever had. The ladies of that Court fear nothing so much as the King's growing devout; for he is already so strict as to their conduct, there wants but that, to make him as bad as a Spaniard: most to Madame la Dauphine (8),

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(5) John Howe, Esquire. He had been member for the county of Gloucester, had taken an active part in all the great measures of the Whigs, and was made Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Mary, at the Revolution.

(6) The only daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, afterwards created Countess of Dorchester by James the Second; of whom her indignant father said, at the Revolution, when siding with William, that, as the King *had made his daughter a Countess*, the least he could do was *to make James's daughter a Queen.*

(7) Mademoiselle de Fontanges. See Madame de Sevigne's Letters of this year, (1680,) for many details of her elevation, character, illness, &c.

(8) A Princess of Bavaria, wife to the Dauphin, son of Lewis XIV. known by the name of the *Grand Dauphin.* (Lucus a non lucendo) it would seem, either in mind or person. It was of the appearance of this Princess of Bavaria, his wife, that Lewis XIV. was told,

who has a great deal of wit and knowledge; but she must not show it but where he pleases. Her husband is a sad creature: he keeps his brother under him like a dog. My Lady Cleveland (9) is scandalous and poor, both to a great degree. Here is striving much for my Lord Thanet. (10) My Lord of Bedford would give 12,000l., I believe that is true; but I do not what I am told of my Lord of Winchester's orders left here to offer him 20,000l. My Lady Henrietta Wentworth (11) bestirs herself too. They that will give most

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" *sauve le premier quart d'heure vous en serez content.*" See again Madame de Sevigne's Letters of this date.

(9) The Duchess of Cleveland, who, since the accession of the Duchess of Portsmouth to the King's public favour, had resided much in France. There is a curious letter from her, in 1678, to Charles, from Paris, in the Appendix to Harris's Life of Charles the Second.

(10) Nicholas Tufton, Earl of Thanet. He married Lady Elizabeth Boyle, third daughter of the first Earl of Burlington. — Was this " *striving,*" and offering money for him, to secure him, politically, to their party, or to marry him into their families?

(11) Lady Henrietta Wentworth was the daughter of Thomas Viscount Wentworth, eldest son of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Cleveland, the first and last Earl of Cleveland of that name. Her father dying before her grandfather, she succeeded, on the death of the latter, in 1664, to the Barony of Wentworth, and would, in these more accurate days, have been called *Lady Wentworth,* and not Lady Harriet Wentworth, by which name she is known to posterity as the tender, attached Friend (to avoid the opprobrious name of Mistress) of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth. She did not survive him a twelvemonth, dying unmarried, in 1686. See Burnet's affecting account of the Duke of Monmouth's interview with the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells previous to his execution, and his sentiments to them on the subject of his connection with Lady Harriet Wentworth.

In Dryden's Miscellany there is an Epilogue, " intended to have been spoken by the " Lady Henrietta Maria Wentworth, when Calisto was acted at Court, by Mr. Dryden." See Dryden's Miscellany, vol. i. That it was not spoken, proceeded from the malicious interference of Lord Rochester, according to Mr. Malone, in his Life of Dryden. The same exact biographer gives the following remarkable Dramatis Personæ of the masque of Calisto, which was rehearsed and acted above thirty times, at Whitehall, in the year 1675.

Calisto,	by the Lady Mary, afterwards Queen.
Nyphe,	Lady Anne, afterwards Queen.
Jupiter,	Lady Henrietta Wentworth.
Juno,	Countess of Sussex, Daughter of the Duchess of Cleveland.

shall have him, but very little of his money, whatever he has of theirs. I am very impatient to hear that your son is quite free from

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Psecas, by the Lady Mary Mordaunt.
Diana, Mrs. Blagge, late Maid of Honour to the Queen.
Mercury, Mrs. Sarah Jennings, afterwards Duchess of Marlborough.

Nymphs attending Diana, and Performers in the Dances.

The Countess of Derby.
The Countess of Pembroke.
Lady Catherine Herbert.
Mrs. Fitzgerald, } Maids of Honour to the Queen.
Mrs. Fraser, }

Male Dancers.

The Duke of Monmouth.
Viscount Dumblaine.
Lord Daincourt.
Mr. Trevor.
Mr. Harpe.
Mr. Lane.

This masque of Calisto was written by Crowne, an obscure poet, whose works have now sunk into the oblivion they merit. He was then under the capricious patronage of Lord Rochester, at whose request he was intrusted with this composition, for the *generous* purpose of mortifying poor Dryden, to whom, as Poet Laureate, the job would naturally have belonged. Evelyn, in his Diary, thus mentions being at this performance: —

"15th November, 1674. Saw a comedy at night, at Court, acted by the ladies only; "amongst them, Lady Mary and Lady Ann, his Royal Highness's two daughters, and my "dear friend, Mrs. Blagg, who, having the principal part, performed it to admiration. "They were all covered with jewels." — And again, on the 22d November, he says, "Was "at the repetition of the pastoral, on which occasion Mrs. Blagg had about her near "20,000l. worth of jewels, of which she lost one, worth about 80l. borrowed of the "Countess of Suffolk. The press was so great, that it is a wonder she lost no more. "The Duke (*of York*) made it good."

See repeated mention made, in the same Diary, of the admirable character of this young lady, who had been a Maid of Honour to Catherine of Braganza. She married, in May 1675, Mr. Sydney Godolphin, then Groom of the Bed-chamber to Charles the Second, afterwards made by him Secretary of State, and created a Peer in 1684, and Lord Treasurer and Earl of Godolphin, by Queen Anne, in 1702. His virtuous and accomplished wife lived not to partake of these honours. She died in child-bed, within three years after her marriage, leaving an only son, who afterwards married the eldest daughter of John, Duke of Marlborough. An affecting account is given of her death, her character, and her loss to her husband and her friends, in Evelyn, vol. i. p. 471.

the trouble in his throat: he was not when I heard last; it is extremely painful and dangerous: I will beg of him to have a care of his diet. I know not when you will have Mr. Pierpoint's company; he is grave and reserved, keeps all close. My Lady Scroope is so cautious, she does not know what to do with herself now she is here. That you may have all blessings, and me that of your kindness, is passionately wished by,

Yours,

D. S.

LETTER V.

July 8th.

I most humbly beg your pardon, my dear Lord, for being too bold with any relation of yours, but kindness to you is so good a ground, it can hardly produce a fault. My son and I took it the same way; was angry with those who did endeavour to make a difference, without a thought of your having the least part in it. Some find lies of use to them, and will not give over the practice; though this was told with some confidence; and I heard it another way, not just so, but something like it; yet, when I was cool, I did not think Sir Thomas Thynne would do so ill a thing to you. As this angered me without having any effect, another that has taken well pleases me, but that I believe is true — my Lord Shaftesbury's and Mr. Algernon's quarrel, who has heard Shaftesbury say he is a French pensioner and my Lord Sunderland's spy; he pays him again. This is like to go as high as tongues can. (1) My brother

(1) This scandal against the character of Algernoon Sidney did not begin with Sir John Dalrymple's report, founded on Barillon's letter to his Court. We see it here originated in the restless, imperious, and, it must be added, unprincipled mind of Lord Shaftesbury. While such *only* are his defamers, and his life, his death, his sentiments, and his writings

Spencer (2) was yesterday in town: he had a mind to see his sister, (*Lady Shaftesbury*,) and sent to her to meet him at Southampton-House. (3) He would not go to my Lord Shaftesbury's, because of his proceedings against the Duke. My Lord Russell asked him, why he would come to his? He might have told him, you are but a blind follower. (4) I was told, my Lord Russell had not been amongst them, but that they did resent the King's putting off dining at my Lord Bedford's, as a great affront. Some better heads, perhaps, would not have taken it so ill; but everybody did wonder the King would do it. Nothing was done at Hicks's-Hall, because they did not like the jury; but when they have another, which will be soon, they will prosecute the Duke's indictment. (5) They say they are gone too far to stop. The storm is grown very high within this fortnight; God knows what does encourage them. Serjeant Pemberton (6) is amongst them in their cabals, but not Jones. His Highness smiles, dances, makes love, and hunts. There are those in the court that tell this party things against him, every day that do exasperate them, that the Duke says, whether true or no I know not. My Lady Scroope would stay, if she might; yet I think she would be weary. Mr. Saville (7) does not desire to quit France till we have less of the politics, and better wine. He is

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remain in evidence against them, he will ever be looked up to, as one of the great lights held out in those stormy days of our freedom, that led us into security, and confirmed our civil liberties.

(2) The Honourable Robert Spencer.

(3) Then inhabited by Lord and Lady Russell.

(4) Thus *all* Ministries, in *all* times, abuse *all* Oppositions. The fashion of *that* day was to call all those who opposed the arbitrary measures of the Court, and of the Duke of York, "blind followers of Lord Shaftesbury."

(5) As a Popish recusant.

(6) Made Chief Justice in 1681. He presided at Lord Russell's trial; and was displaced soon after, as Burnet supposes, for "stating the whole matter with so little eagerness against Lord Russell."—Burnet, vol. ii. p. 386.

(7) The brother of Lord Halifax.

fatter than he was. He says your son is not fat at all: I long to hear of him. I have not heard of the little rogues; if your Lordship has heard lately, pray bid Nan (8) send me word how they do. Mr. Saville goes to Windsor, with my son, to-day. I have not seen his Lordship since he came this time; I may, perhaps, a minute: he is very full of business. Mrs. Middleton (9) and I have lost old Waller; he is gone away frightened. The Duchess (*of York*) is not with child; she prays all day almost: she is very melancholy, the women will have it, for Mrs. Sidley. She looks further than that, if she has so much wit as she is thought by some. My Lord Shaftesbury makes love to my Lady Orrery (10), she is so well pleased with it, that she is absolutely of his party, and my Lady Betty Felton too. The

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(8) "*Nan*" was her grand-daughter, the Lady Ann Saville; and "*the little rogues*," of whom she desires to hear, her two younger grand-sons, *Nan*'s brothers.

(9) Mrs. Middleton is one of the beauties at Windsor, and one of the heroines of the Comte de Grammont's Memoirs. That lively author gives the following account of her youth: — "C'etoit une des belles femmes de la ville, peu connue encore à la cour, assez "coquette pour ne rebuter personne; assez magnifique pour vouloir aller de pair avec celles "qui l'etoient le plus, mais trop mal avec la fortune pour pouvoir en soutenir la depense. "* * * * La Middleton bienfaite, blonde et blanche, avoit dans les manières et les "discours, quelque chose de precieux et d'affecté. L'indolente langueur dont elle se "paroit n'étoit pas du goût de tout le monde, on s'endormoit aux sentiments de deli- "catesse qu'elle vouloit expliquer sans les comprendre, et elle ennuioit en voulant briller. "A force de se tourmenter la-dessus, elle tourmentoit tous les autres, et l'ambition de "passer pour bel esprit ne lui a donné que la reputation d'ennuyeuse, qui subsistoit long- "tems apres sa beauté."

After this "*youth of folly*," came an "*old age of cards*." She was one of the constant basset-players at Madame de Mazarin's. See repeated mention of her in the little pieces addressed by St. Evremond to that Lady, particularly that which he calls "*Scene de Bassette;*" in which the character and manners of Mrs. Middleton, and of Madame deMazarin, are most characteristically described. Œuvres de St. Evremond, vol. iii. p.92. Evelyn thus mentions her coming to see him, three years after the date of this letter: — "The next day came Colonel Russell, uncle to the late Lord Russell, and brother to the "Earl of Bedford; and with him, Mrs. Middleton, that famous, and, indeed, incom- "parable beauty, daughter to my relation, Sir Robert Needham." Vol. i. p. 524.

(10) Lady Orrery was the Lady Mary Sackville, daughter to the Earl of Dorset, and wife of the second Earl of Orrery, who succeeded his father in 1679. He was the Lord Broghill, who had a command in Ireland, under Cromwell.

Duchess of Monmouth (11) is going into France, sick and discontented. These confederates would not make good laws for wives, if they had power: my brother (12) is suspected to be in with the Duke of Buckingham; to-day he was with Wildman (13); how far that is a sign of it, I know not; but it is one good, they are not all of a mind. Mr. Montague is not in any affair with them, it is thought; for he does not appear amongst them, and talks of going to France next month. The King of France sends the Duke de la Tremouille hither with a compliment; and my Lord of Oxford (14) goeth to his Christian Majesty. Mr. Saville is to go, he says, where that King will lead him; he thinks not to war; so says the Secretary: this minute they are gone from me to Windsor. This was the best news they told me, and no ill. My Lord Rochester (15) does appear a real convert: he cannot live; he has ulcers in two places. He sees nobody but his mother, wife, divines, and physicians. I shall live the more easily in my little house with the hopes of seeing you in September. God send you, and all yours, well; and, as long as I live some kindness, for a little of yours is worth a great deal of mine, though to you it is very real and constant, from

D. S.

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(11) Lady Annabella Scott, daughter and heiress of the Earl of Buccleuch.

(12) Algernoon Sidney.

(13) Major Wildman. See an account of this personage, first a favourite, and then a suspected enemy of Cromwell, in Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 499. octavo edition. He seems to have had the ill luck of being equally obnoxious, and equally illegally treated, by both parties; for he was taken up, with other republican officers, and imprisoned, by Charles II. from 1662 to 1667. He was afterwards, in 1683, again imprisoned, on account of the Rye-House plot. See a curious account of the frivolity of the charge then made against him, in Burnet, vol. ii. p. 372.

(14) Aubrey de Vere, the 20th and last Earl of Oxford of that family.

(15) John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, then dying, at thirty-three, of the consequences of his madly-dissipated life.

LETTER VI.

July 19th.

The news of yesterday every one in the street can send you, and better than I, my dear Lord; yet I must be scribbling. At the choosing of the sheriffs, which are the same again (1), a loud outcry, "No Yorkist! No Papist!" this by hundreds; and One proposed they beat so, that he is very ill, still crying, "A Yorkist, none of him!" My Lord Russell said he was sorry one of them was chosen, for he was as great a Commonwealth's man (2) as Algernoon Sidney. I wonder what his Lordship is, if he is not so too, and goes so far towards it. My Lord Shaftesbury says, if the Duke (*of York*) should go away, that is nothing; if he should take the oaths, go to church, receive the sacrament, abjure transubstantiation, that is nothing. They have no reason to fear him; he seems now full of thought; it is time for him and others to be so. That Lord and, I think, the Duke of Monmouth, dined with Mr. Montague, to rejoice. His Lordship goes out of town to-day, and his Grace soon begins his progress to his friends' houses all over the west. (3) His wife seems desirous to have him make all submission

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(1) Slingsby Bethell and Henry Cornish. See Burnet's account of their election, and of the character of the two persons (vol. ii. p. 279.); of whom the latter was afterwards most unjustly executed, in the second year of James's reign, for his supposed participation in the Rye-House plot.

(2) Bethell. See Lady Russell's mention of him, in letter xiii. p. 40. of this collection.

(3) This is the journey so beautifully described by Dryden, in Absalom and Achitophel: —

> From east to west his glories he displays,
> And, like the sun, the promis'd land surveys.
> Fame flies before him, as the morning star,
> And shouts of joy salute him from afar.
> Each house receives him as a guardian god,
> And consecrates the place of his abode.

to the King: if she has sincerity she has no power. One good thing is amongst them, they drive several ways, but the end is still themselves, which keeps them from agreeing. They are very busy at Court. The King, I think, does not go away to-day. My Lord Ossory is put upon demanding more than four thousand men for Tangier. My Lord Shaftesbury says, that he is afraid if he is absent from hence my son will get his father (4) out of his place of Lieutenant, and himself in. (5) My Lord Inchiquin, when he went to Windsor, sought

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(4) The Duke of Ormond.

(5) Evelyn, who seems to have been much in the intimacy of Lord Ossory, gives a very different account of his motives and feelings.

" 26th July, 1680. My most noble and illustrious friend, the Earl of Ossory, espying me this morning, after sermon, in the Privy gallery, calling to me, told me he was now going his journey, (meaning to Tangier, whither he was designed Governor and General of the forces, to regain the losses we had lately sustained from the Moors, when Inchiquin was Governor.) I asked him if he would not call at my house (*at Deptford*), (as he always did, when he went out of England on any exploit.) He said he must embark at Portsmouth, ' wherefore, let you and I dine together to-day: I am quite alone, and have ' something to impart to you. I am not well, shall be private, and desire your com- ' pany.' Being retired to his lodgings, and set down on a couch, he sent his secretary for the copy of a letter which he had written to Lord Sunderland, (Secretary of State,) wishing me to read it. It was to take notice how ill he resented it, that he should tell the King, before Lord Ossory's face, that Tangier was not to be kept, but would certainly be lost; and yet added, that it was *fit* Lord Ossory should be sent, that they might give some account of it to the world, meaning (as supposed) the next Parliament, when all such miscarriages would probably be examined. This, Lord Ossory took very ill of Lord Sunderland, and not kindly of the King, who, resolving to send him with an incompetent force, seemed, as his Lordship took it, to be willing to cast him away, not only on a hazardous adventure, but, in most men's opinion, an impossibility, seeing there was not above three or four hundred horse, and four thousand foot, for the garrison and all, both to defend the town, form a camp, repulse the enemy, and fortify what ground they could get in. This touched my Lord deeply; that he should be so little considered as to put him on a business, in which he should probably not only lose his reputation, but be charged with all the miscarriages and ill success; whereas at first they promised six thousand foot and six hundred horse effective. My Lord being an exceeding brave and valiant person, and who had so approved himself, in divers signal battles, both at sea and land; so beloved, and so esteemed by the people, as one they depended upon on all occasions worthy of such a Captain — he looked on this as too great an indifference in His Majesty, after all his services, and the merits of his father, the Duke of Ormond, and a design of

for my son first; and being told he was upon the terrace, went thither, and met the King. He kneeled down to kiss his hand: the King turned from him, and said, " My Lord, I will talk with you in another place." (6) The Duke de la Tremouille, though a sad creature, it seems, is thought too good to come to us: a less quality by much is come. The French Ambassador (7) has borrowed every body's plate he can get: he never spoke to my Lady Thanet (8), and he sent for hers. My Lady Scroope is at her brother's house; and she wishes you were at yours. I think the Papists are not sorry for this storm upon the Duke, they hope it may bring confusion. If they think it will blow over, they will surely be much mistaken; the malice of the busy people goes further than to him. My Lord Macclesfield (9) was reconciled to him yesterday, and kissed his hand. Mr. Algernoon is busy; about what, God knows. Last night he was

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some who envied his virtue. It certainly took so deep root in his mind, that he who was the most devoid of fear in the world, (and assured me he would go to Tangier with ten men, if His Majesty commanded him,) could not bear up against this unkindness. Having disburthened himself of this to me at dinner, he went with His Majesty to the sheriffs, at a great supper, at Fishmongers'-Hall; but finding himself ill, took his leave immediately of His Majesty, and came back to his lodging. Not resting well this night, he was persuaded to remove to Arlington-House, for better accommodation. His disorder turned to a malignant fever, which increasing after all that six of the most able physicians could do, he became delirious, with intervals of sense, during which, Dr. *Lloyd* (afterwards bishop of St. Asaph) administered the holy sacrament, of which I also participated. He died the Friday following, the 30th July, to the universal grief of all that knew or heard of his great worth." Evelyn, vol. i. p. 488.

(6) Probably on account of his conduct, while Governor of Tangier, when our troops were repulsed by the Moors.

(7) Barillon, who had succeeded Courtin, in the year 1678.

(8) Mother of the Lord Thanet mentioned in these letters. She was daughter and co-heiress of Richard, Earl of Dorset.

(9) Charles Gerard, created Baron Gerard in 1645. He distinguished himself, in various actions, on the King's side, during the civil war; and was made Earl of Macclesfield in 1672, by Charles II. and a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber. His son, Lord Brandon, was among the persons taken up for participation in the Rye-House plot. See " Brief Historical Relation," &c. by Narcissus Luttrell.

called out of my chamber; I asked, by whom? and my man said, a Quaker. The Duke of Buckingham very lately pretended to have some trouble of conscience, and talked of it to some fanatics; and they said he appeared to be in a good mind, and they were to come to him again to finish the work; at a time appointed he could not be found; and afterwards they heard he was with a wench all that day. I assure you, my Lord, I have given my niece (10) the best advice I can; and I think, she is of herself inclined to good. I have heard things, that make me think she will have a hard task: she does not complain, and will not own what I know; though it is not very kind, I do not blame her for it. I have desired that she will not be more free with her other friends: my sister would be troubled and show it; and others would be glad and talk. She does observe him as much as possible. Severity not well understood has no bounds. I long to see your Lordship most violently, and love and pray for you as well as I can.

D. S.

I humbly present my service to my Lady. I fear my little friend has forgot me.

LETTER VII.

July 27th.

THAT you have, my dear Lord, but a thought of my seeing sweet Rufford (1) again, gives me a dream of happiness. I believe there will be nothing here suddenly to fright those who have more reason

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(10) A daughter of her sister, Lady Lucy Pelham; married to Gervase Pierpont, afterwards created Lord Ardglass.

(1) In Yorkshire, then the country seat of the Earl of Halifax, now that of the second son of the Earl of Scarborough's family, together with the adoption of the name of Saville.

to love life than I have; but may be brought about with time, and great endeavours of those who have designs that can never be compassed, but by the whole nation being in a flame. I wish I had no ground for this, but that it was only an effect of my spleen. I have told you how my Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Algernoon have railed at one another; now messages pass between them, I believe by Mr. Hampden, but that I do not know: the first part he (*Algernoon Sidney*) told me; why, I cannot imagine. He says he does not go to him, because he tells lies of him and his friends; but he undertakes to know Shaftesbury's mind; he says he professes to have no design for the Duke of Monmouth: then you may imagine what he pretends to Mr. Bethell to be for. (2) I believe they will not be long in masquerade. I hope the King will do a good deal; and I pray God the moderate, honest people may be the greatest number; if not, you are all undone. There is little said of religion, or trying the Lords (3), because they think all that will be done. I am afraid good people will wish they had not been passive, and given the advantage of time so much to the ill ones to act. All this business about the sheriffs is in order to carry ill things. My Lord Sunderland thought it had been better if they had not been opposed; but the Mayor and Recorder did undertake more than they could do. (4) I am old enough to remember the ill consequences of princes being deceived.

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(2) She means a Republic; as Mr. Bethell, one of the new sheriffs, was known to be, (according to the language of the day,) a Commonwealth's man.

(3) The Roman Catholic Lords then in the Tower were Earl Powis, Viscount Stafford, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lord Bellasis, and Lord Petre.

(4) When we here see the Court interest worsted in a popular city election, in the days of Charles II. we may well wonder at the many successive attempts of the Court, in later days, to carry the parliamentary elections of London and Middlesex. Lord Sunderland, it seems, was wise enough to have discovered, that on these occasions, the Government exposes itself to an affront, without any adequate countervailing advantage. But the practice would probably be continued with unabated eagerness, were it not now difficult to find any respectable individual, sufficiently devoted to any administration, to submit to be gibbetted for a fortnight on the hustings of Brentford or Covent-Garden, for the chance of bringing one vote into Parliament at the end of it.

There is one place of counsel I should never have suspected, (my Lady Orrery's) till I did know that my Lord Shaftesbury, Duke of Monmouth, and my Lord Cavendish do meet and sup there, and Mrs. Nelly (5), who the King had forbid letting the Duke of Monmouth come to her house. To-day my Lady Orrery is gone to Windsor, to furnish for the better diverting them. My Lady Scroope is gone too; after that to the Bath, and then into Lincolnshire, where she will stay till she sees what the Parliament will do, if her brother (6) leaves his wife there. I find she is not pleased with my son: she thinks, I believe, he is no friend to them, and is too much for complying with the moderate. I do not doubt but that would be the greatest party, if they understood the intentions of others. She told me he was at my Lord St. Alban's (7) very peevish to her and Mr. Jermin. (8) The Papists do now wish a confusion, that

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(5) "*Mrs. Nelly.*" It was thus, that after she was known as the King's mistress, Nell Gwynne was designated by the upper orders of society; while by the lower she was called "*Madame Gwynne.*" The accurate and pains-taking Malone, in his Notes to the prose-works of Dryden, adopts the story of her having first charmed the King by speaking the Epilogue to Dryden's Tyrannic Love, in 1669, which was prefaced by the words,

"Hold! are you mad, you damn'd confounded dog?
"I am to rise and speak the Epilogue."

Others say that, in the Epilogue to the Conquest of Grenada, she first attracted notice, speaking from under the pent-house of a hat as large as a cart-wheel: others, again, that her agility in dancing first made her remarked by the King. Be this as it may, she had now been his mistress above ten years; for her son, afterwards Duke of St. Alban's, was born in May, 1670. The circumstance of Charles having forbidden her to admit the Duke of Monmouth to her house, is curious; as one can hardly suppose it proceeded from any motives of propriety or decorum. The same circumstance is mentioned by Lady Russell, in a letter of the 3d April, 1680, p. 36. in this collection; and Lord Cavendish and Mr. Thynne are said to be equally excluded. Nell Gwynne being received in the house and society of Lady Orrery, as this letter would insinuate, is not less remarkable.

(6) Sir Robert Carr, of Sleaford, in Lincolnshire.

(7 and 8) Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Alban's. He had been Master of the Horse to Queen Henrietta Maria, during the great Rebellion, and had accompanied her to and from France, in her ill-judged visit, in 1642. After the King's death, and during her long residence at Paris, he was Lord Chamberlain of her small household, and managed all the concerns of her family, not always, it would seem, to the satisfaction of Lord Clarendon. At the Restoration he was created Earl of St. Alban's, and made Lord Chamberlain to the King from 1671 to 1674; but continued always so entirely in the favour and confidence of the Queen Mother, until her death, that it has been supposed she was privately

is most certain. She says the Duke (*of York*) is very melancholy: I told her he had reason. Your Lordship cannot know truth till you come to town; letters must not tell true. At last, my Lady Northumberland (9) will not go into France: she said yesterday, if she did not go next week, it would be too late, and she was very lazy. Some poor women are made such fools as to pretend to choose what they cannot help: her health needs the journey as much as it did. My Lord of Oxford and Mr. Churchill have been very well presented (10) by the French King. To-day the Frenchmen go from hence; the ambassador (11) brought a coach full of them to Mrs. Middleton's, and sent it to fetch more. They all dined at Mr. Montague's yesterday. (12) Woe be to the Duchess of Portsmouth, now the ladies are got into council! Such stuff as this, I know, is not fit for my Lord Halifax; but at this time there is no better in the empty corner of your old friend, that passionately loves you,

D. S.

I opened my letter to tell your Lordship I have seen Sir William Coventry (13): he is very well. He knows nobody in town, or very few. One with his judgment and honesty, with less spleen, will not like what is done here. My Lord Shaftesbury and the Duke of Monmouth are gone out of town.

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married to him. His earldom became extinct in him. Mr. Jermyn, the person here mentioned, his brother's youngest son, whom he made his heir, was afterwards created Lord Dover by James II. He is "*Le Petit Germain*" of the Memoires de Grammont, and died without children by "*La Pecque provinciale*," (Miss Gibbs, daughter of a Cambridgeshire gentleman,) in 1708. See, in St. Evremond's works, several very agreeable letters addressed to Lord St. Alban's.

(9) The Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, daughter to the Lord Treasurer Southampton, by his second wife, now married to Mr. Montagu.

(10) Thus in the MSS.

(11 and 12) Barillon. Among "the Frenchmen" now in England, were the Duc de Nevers, brother to Madame de Mazarin; the Grand Prieur Vendôme, her cousin, and cousin likewise to the Duchess of York; the Duc de la Tremouille, and the Marechal de Crequi.

(13) Sir William Coventry was the youngest son of the Lord Keeper Coventry, of whom Clarendon has given such an admirable character. History of the Rebellion, vol. i. page 45. Of the person here mentioned, and of his public conduct, Burnet says, "Sir

LETTER VIII.

August 5th.

I KNOW, my dear Lord, you think me a great fool for writing as I do; but that shall not serve you to be rid of it till I see you. My Lord of Essex tells me you promise to be here the beginning of next month. I long for the time. My Lady Scroope is out of her wits: she is grown very violent in her religion (1); and she says it will not be possible for any of them to live in England. I know not what they are in the country, but here they are enraged. Some of them say the Duke has undone them. (2) Mr. Jermyn did tell my son he had rather be in the hands of the Parliament than the Ministers: he told him *that* desire he would in a very little time have. Every body thinks the Duke of Ormond (3) will quit the government of Ireland, or be persuaded to it. My son told me he had by some been desired

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" William Coventry had the greatest credit of any man in the House (*of Commons*). " He never meddled personally with any minister: he had a perfect understanding " of affairs; so he laid open the errors of government with the more authority, be- " cause he mixed no passion nor private resentment with it. His brother usually " answered him, with much life, in a repartee; but not with the weight and force with " which he spoke." Ibid. vol. ii. page 138.

" His brother" (Henry Coventry) was made Secretary of State on the death of Sir John Trevor, in 1672. Another brother of his, Sir John Coventry, was the person on whom the outrage committed in the streets of London, in 1669, was the occasion of passing the *Coventry Act*, against maliciously maiming and wounding. See Burnet's curious account of this transaction, so disgraceful to the King, and to the Duke of Monmouth, vol. i. p. 397.

(1) Lady Scroope was a Roman Catholic.

(2) All the rational Roman Catholics were of this opinion; and justly thought the open profession and patronage of the Duke of York the worst thing that could happen to their cause in this country.

(3) Richard, the first Duke of Ormond.

to get it: he said, that if it were worth twice as much as it is, he would not have it: he will not quit the post he is in, for any other employment. At the same time, he had, it seems, on some occasion offered to answer for you, that you would not have it. My Lord Shaftesbury raves of one of you two going into Ireland. They have made their plot form as well as they can here, and now they are gone to cabal in the country. My Lord Clifford (4), who was very near Reading, neither went to the Duke of Monmouth, nor sent to him: I believe he is grown a very moderate person. My Lord Cavendish (5) had taken up money, at fifty and three-score pounds in a hundred, to go into France; and he lost a thousand in two nights, at Madame Mazarin's (6), that stops his journey for a time. I suppose you know Sir William Temple (7) is to go ambassador into Spain. My neighbour, my Lady Goodericke (8), will not be the gladdest

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(4) Hugh Lord Clifford, son of the Lord Treasurer Clifford.

(5) William Lord Cavendish, the first Duke of Devonshire.

(6) The Duchess of Mazarin, who had come to England at the end of the year 1675, was established in apartments within the precincts of the Palace at Whitehall, and was considered (as we see by Evelyn's Diary) as a mistress of the King's, and associated in public opinion with those that had been, and that were in the same situation. Her house was constantly open as a rendezvous of play, before clubs existed for men, and assemblies for women. Evelyn, after mentioning many particulars of the death of Charles II. in February, 1685, says: — " I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, " gaming, and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God, (it being " Sunday evening,) which, this day se'nnight, I was witness of: The King sitting and toy- " ing with his concubines Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarin, &c. a French boy singing " love songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers, and " other dissolute persons, were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000l. " in gold before them. Six days after, was all in the dust!" — Evelyn, vol. i. p. 549.

(7) The embassy to Spain was offered and accepted by Sir William Temple; but after all his preparations for going were made, the King desired him to delay his departure till the end of the session of Parliament, which had been summoned to meet in October, 1679, but which was prorogued by the King without the advice of his Council. Against this measure Sir William Temple made so bold a speech, that his embassy to Spain (as is known) never took place. He declined being a member of the Oxford Parliament; and from this time retired from public business.

(8) She was the daughter of Colonel William Legge, and sister to George Lord Dartmouth; married to Sir Henry Goodricke, of Ribston, in Yorkshire, who was Envoy

wife in England to have him come home. They say he shall go somewhere else; but this is too good for him. My Lord Thanet is one of the pretenders to be Chamberlain to the Queen, and makes his court in letting one of the bedchamber-women play his money with Her Majesty, at antreleu. (9) The King, Queen, Duchess of Portsmouth, and my Lord Feversham (10), made a bank of 2000l. and they won 2700l. of the Frenchmen. (11) The Duke of Nevers goes away to-day: my Lord Sunderland has not lost. He told me he had heard Judge Weston (12) had not performed the orders he had, to make a distinction between the Papists and the Fanatics. He told them that gave him the information, if anybody would bring proofs of it, he would make the complaint at the Council, and desire to have him put out of his place. Your brother and mine (13) will both meet your Lordship here, I hope. I should be more glad to hear your son (14) would do so too. I hear his throat and his fever were very terrible; he has not to me represented it to be so, though it was past when I heard last from him. I was told De Moulin (15) did say it was to a great degree. I know not what patience he has, but

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Extraordinary to Charles II. King of Spain, and was afterwards a Privy Councillor to King William.

(9) Lantreloo, since abbreviated into loo.

(10) Louis de Duras, created Lord Duras by Charles II. He became Earl of Feversham, by his marriage with the daughter and heiress of George Sondes, Earl of Feversham.

(11) See Note (12) to the preceding letter.

(12) Sir Richard Weston, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

(13) Henry Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney.

(14) The Honourable Henry Saville, eldest son of the Marquis of Halifax, who afterwards married the daughter of the Marquis de Gouvernet, in France, and died without children, in the year 1688, within a few weeks after the death of his youngest brother, George, who was killed at the siege of Buda. See a letter of the Marquis of Halifax to Lady Russell, and her answer, in this collection.

(15) Pierre du Moulin, a French Protestant clergyman of the Church of England, who was a chaplain to Charles II. and a canon of Canterbury, where he died, in 1684. He had accompanied Mr. Saville in his travels on the Continent.

he apprehends too little the danger of it. Sir John Pelham (16) has had a very ill fit of the stone; but I thank God he is well again: his father died of it, a little older than he is: his son and daughter-in-law (17) are come away: my sister has held out very well, though she is a proud, pert, ill-bred creature. I did never know any of her birth fail of those qualifications: my son says my Lord Mulgrave is glad he is come home; and he believes no more people of quality will go. (18) It is a sad place, but not in present danger of being lost. I hear Sir Robert Carr shall be a Privy Councillor. The Duke of Buckingham, they say, has a great desire to come to court; but nobody cares to have him. The Duke of York thinks he has lost the best friend he had, in my Lord Ossory; yet he is generally lamented. My Lord of Essex (19) is a constant counsellor; he is in very good humour. Truly, I think she (*Lady Essex*) will die; she is very much wasted in a few months. My dear Lord, I am willing to be impertinent, that you may show me kindness in forgiving me, though that is a great rate; yet by me it is valued at much more, who passionately loves you, and esteems you as much as I can any creature.

D. S.

Pray present my humble service to my Lady. My Lady Ann shall soon hear from me.

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(16) Married to her sister, the Lady Lucy Sidney.

(17) Thomas Pelham, (afterwards created Lord Pelham,) the son of Sir John Pelham, had married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Jones, who had been Attorney-General.

(18) To Tangier.

(19) Evelyn gives the following character of him: — "He is a sober, wise, judicious, "and pondering person, not illiterate beyond the rate of most noblemen in this age, very "well versed in English History and affairs, industrious, frugal, methodical, and every "way accomplished. His lady (being sister of the late Earl of Northumberland) is a wise "yet somewhat melancholy woman; setting her heart too much on the little lady her "daughter *, of whom she is over-fond."

* Who afterwards married Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle.

LETTER IX.

August 20th.

You have so used me to your letters, my dear Lord, that it makes me fear one or two I wrote have miscarried, or that you do civilly rebuke me for the folly of not being cautious enough in doing it; yet I have ever considered that if they should be taken, and brought to the secretary, I could see no other harm. You will wonder, perhaps, that no discourse is so common in every body's chamber, and every coffee-house, as of the Duke (*of York's*) going away before the Parliament; some saying he will, and others that he will not: upon this, his servants and friends, and, they say, himself too, take all occasions to declare that he will not stir; and this is so much done that I do a little wonder at it. I must tell you the temper my Lady Scroope is in, which is so fierce, against whom I will not tell you (1); but I assure you I dare not contradict her but very little. She admires my Lord Shaftesbury for the ablest man in the world, and had she been king, would never have parted with him; and she loves Sir William Coventry best. What place your Lordship has with her I know not; if it were a good one, I should hear more of it than I do. The present humour is being with my Lady Northumberland, my Lady Harvie (2), and Stanhope (3), who told me we dine together round; and my Lady Northumberland is very earnest with her to

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(1) Probably, from what follows, she means the Duke of York.

(2) Sister to Ralph the first Duke of Montagu, married to Sir Daniel Hervey, who had been Ambassador to Constantinople in 1668.

(3) Lady Stanhope was the Lady Anne Percy, daughter of Algernoon, Earl of Northumberland, and consequently sister-in-law to the Lady Northumberland (Lady Russell's sister) here mentioned. She was married to Philip Lord Stanhope, who succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Chesterfield.

take lodgings in their Square, and they will protect her; and she says she will go any where for that; and she acknowledges great obligation to my Lady Northumberland, for she is looking out lodgings for her there. She goes to the Bath on Thursday; what she will do next, I believe she does not know herself. She has charged me with a great deal of compliment from her brother (4) to my son, though he has written to him; but she is to understand he is a man of parole. My brother is come from Tunbridge, not well; Mr. Montague, and Jones (*Sir William*), are there now. He looks after his own health; but, poor Lady Northumberland! the talk of a cure for her is at an end, and never the journey intended for that. My Lord Cavendish is stopt awhile; he has not only lost all his money, but coach-horses and plate, — all he had: my Lord Clifford says he expects his pictures and house will be gone next. The Duchess of Monmouth did begin her journey towards France yesterday. My son came to town last night late, and goes again to-day. My daughter came to christen Mr. Cheeke's child. (5) There is a great noise of what Mr. Hyde has done at the Mint, by some; but others say he, and the men who are come into the office, have done nothing but what they can justify, and had caution in what they did. Last night, with great joy, I was told that my brother Spencer (6) was master of the horse to the Queen, and my Lord Feversham, chamberlain. (7) I sent to my son to know if it were so, and he sent me word it was not; yet he did not know what might be. He is never from her: I hope he will charm Her Majesty into a consent. I heard my Lord Chesterfield would have been her chamberlain. If Robin gets it, there will be one happy man in England. I am very glad your son

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(4) Sir Robert Carr. He was to be made a Privy Councillor.

(5) The writer's niece.

(6) The Honourable Robert Spencer, son of Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton, and brother to the first Earl of Sunderland.

(7) Lord Feversham was the successful candidate, and remained Lord Chamberlain to Queen Catherine, of Braganza, until she returned to Portugal in 1704.

is very well. I had a letter from him yesterday, but not the time mentioned in it for his coming home directly. I suppose he attends some command from you, without which he will not travel in the heat; that will not be long now. My Lady Scroope talks much of the great contempt the French have for all strangers; she, without intending it, makes it the most foolish thing that ever I heard of them. Mr. Hyde is going to the Bath. Mr. Pierpoint goes on Thursday to fetch his wife from ——. (8) I could not tell him when you would be here; I know not if he goes to you or no. I am glad Lady Betty (9) had but the chicken-pox; I doubt not but my Lady has good advice: there needs purging after, to keep the other from following. If your Lordship were in my corner, I should find something could do my spleen good, which appears now past cure or mending. God send us a happy meeting, and to you every good thing.

D. S.

LETTER X.

August 24th.

I HAVE, my dear Lord, wondered, and am now troubled that I do not hear from you: the best I hope is that my letters are fallen into some other hands; for my follies can be no prejudice to you, and to myself I can have no effect so ill as your dislike. If I have written with too little caution sometimes, you may be sure it was well meant; and if you had given me the least rebuke, I had mended my innocence to the most perfect degree: and my inconsiderableness, to the

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(8) A name here not to be decyphered.

(9) Lady Betty Saville, the only daughter of the Marquis of Halifax, by his second marriage. She afterwards became the wife of Philip Earl of Chesterfield, son to the before-mentioned Philip Lord Stanhope.

last keeps me from thinking the lyeing spirit that now reigns has condescended to do me any ill office. I have a great deal of spleen at this time, which, perhaps, works too high for my quiet. The least thing from you that looks unkind, or displeased, strikes me in the tenderest part of my heart: I will trouble you no more with this subject. My son and his wife, without any company, went to Althorpe yesterday; and on Wednesday they intended to come, in a day, hither: I believe it will be impossible. There was a council at Windsor on Wednesday: my Lord Inchiquin was to be heard. (1) My Lady Thanet told me, last night, his friends had not heard what the result was. My brother is in great hopes of being Master of the Horse to the Queen, but I find others doubt it more: two Earls, as they say, pretending to be Chamberlain, it is thought the Queen will not remove my Lord Feversham, but rather choose to have two Earls, than a poor gentleman. The King and Queen have spoke for Robin, and my Lord Clarendon does promise to do all he can: that is more than both. My Lord Cavendish, at last, is gone into France: he recruited his losses at play with more borrowing at 50 and 60 in the hundred. This wet weather has not driven every body from the Wells: Sir Carr Scroope (2) is there in no good condition: he carried a physician of his own: he has reason to fear as much pain as he is threatened with. Sir (*William*) Jones is there, too, and Mr. Montague, two great friends. If Jones is wise, and obstinate, sure Montague cannot have so great a power over him as many believe. My Lady Scroope is gone to the Bath, and Mr. Hyde does go. The King did part very kindly with the Duchess of Monmouth: she fell into a great

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(1) On account of his conduct during his government at Tangier.

(2) Son of the Lady Scroope frequently mentioned in these letters. He seems to have been one of "*the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease.*" His name occurs among the translations of this period "*done into English by persons of honour.*" He never recovered from the illness Lady Sunderland here mentions; but died, unmarried, this year (1680).

passion (3) as soon as his back was turned; and he returned to her again, and took her in his arms. He has given her, they say, 5000l. for her journey. She took her leave of the Queen, but not of the Duchess (*of York*). Her husband uses her barbarously, if there is not a better understanding between them than appears, she seems to dislike all he does as much as is possible. My brother Leicester kept a great house at Boundes (4); my Lord Vaughan, Sir Carr, my son, and his wife and child, and all that belonged to them, at his charge. I hear Sir Henry Goodricke will be in great disorder for being recalled (5), by his fortune being in a very ill condition; yet he has lived the worst there that ever I heard of any body in such an employment. My Lord of Winchester (6) does make a great bustle. he borrowed a house to entertain a great many ladies: my friend was not of the party: it was for some days. If I had better stuff, your Lordship should not have this from me, who thinks you deserve the best of every thing and would, if I had power, give it you, as I passionately love you.

D. S.

I am so ill I cannot write to Nan. (7)

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(3) A "passion" of grief is evidently here meant.

(4) The beautiful country-house near Tunbridge Wells, now belonging to the Earl of Caledon.

(5) From Spain, where he had been Envoy Extraordinary.

(6) See note to Lady Russell's letter, p. 28.

(7) Her grand-daughter, Lady Ann Saville.

LETTER XI. (1)

If I had any thing to say worth a secret, this is a good way to convey it; but I am not so much obliged to anybody. My dear Lord, I must wish, though I dare do no more, for your making a journey hither the end of March, or beginning of April. The 20th of March, the King goes to Newmarket, and the 25th, my son to Althorpe. They will think, as the mutineers say, that you will come no more till a Parliament sits. As the Queen said of you, I believe you have not told *them* your mind, nor I hope never will; for they are your enemies, and the nation's too, who wish not one honest man near the King. My brother Harry wrote to me, your being in the country is the worst news he has heard a great while: he is so silly as to write to *me*, to beg of you to come again. Our secretary, (*Lord Sunderland,*) Mr. Godolphin, and Hyde, do hold their league. Waller told me, with a great oath, that my son was sick of the Duchess of Portsmouth (2), and would be glad, with all his heart, to be rid of her; and that she does now make more court to him and his wife than

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(1) There is no date to this letter; but it must probably have been written early in the year 1681.

(2) The Duchess of Portsmouth (as is known) had been prevailed on to favour the Exclusion Bill, which Lord Sunderland strongly supported. It had probably been artfully suggested to her, that, if the legitimate line were once broken, her son, the Duke of Richmond, might, on some future occasion, have as fair a chance for the throne as the Duke of Monmouth. Such motives are the more easily credible, as we find her, in April, 1683, taking upon her to write a public letter of thanks to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of York, for having chosen her son, the Duke of Richmond, their High Steward. She assured them that the King was much pleased with it, and that she should endeavour to show her gratitude. See Reresby's Memoirs, page 162. See also Burnet's account of the Duchess of Portsmouth's conduct on the Exclusion Bill, vol. ii. p. 289.

they do to her. The King does seem to be as fond of the Duke (*of York's*) coming, as if he were a mistress of not above a week's date. That does not agree with what I am told, that it will be seen that he will have little power in affairs. My Lord Winchester is a great courtier — a new man in health, not in many other things. I fear my Lord Spencer (3) will be no great comfort to his friends. I doubt he has no good nature, nor good humour: scornful, and too pretending, he comes to me seldom, seems weary in a minute, talks to me of my company, as if I picked them up in the streets. My Lord —— (4), at his age, did nothing like it. He will be spoiled, that I see, plainly. If I had any state affairs, you should not have this *stuff*; nor that Sir Edward Villiers (5) makes love to my Lady Ogle. I do not take it from the medisance of the town, but the discreetest that is amongst them. He pleases my Lady Northumberland so much, with asking her counsel and her assistance for some affairs: she thinks he comes to the house for no other design, and he loses every penny that he has there. I am melancholy for parting with my dear Nan. My Lord Winchester has lately put a great sum of money into the Exchequer, and is as busy as ever he was: he goes every Saturday to my Lord Belassyse (6), and a monied man,

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(3) The eldest son of Robert Earl of Sunderland, who died in his father's life-time.

(4) A name here not to be made out.

(5) Sir Edward was son of Sir Edward Villiers, a first cousin of the second Duke of Buckingham, by Frances, the youngest daughter of Theophilus Earl of Suffolk. He was thus nephew to the elder Lady Northumberland here mentioned, Lady Ogle's grandmother. He was afterwards created Viscount Villiers, and Earl of Jersey, by King William, 1697.

(6) Thomas Lord Belassyse. He was made Lord Treasurer by James II. in 1686. Sir John Reresby says of him, in 1688, "that, though he was himself a Papist, he had "been quite averse to the measures which had been taken to promote the Catholic religion; but that his counsel never had weight, the warm ones having insinuated to the "King that it came from a man old and cautious, who, having a great estate, did not care "to run any hazard of it, &c. This Lord was deservedly esteemed one of the wisest men "of his party." Reresby's Memoirs, page 330.

Duncombe (7), with him. My dear Lord, I love you with all my heart.

D. S.

For the Earl of Halifax.

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(7) An Alderman of London. It was at his house, as Sir John Reresby tells us, "the "Lord Chancellor (*Jeffries*) and the Lord Treasurer (*Hyde*), and others, drank themselves into that height of frenzy, that, among friends, it was whispered they had stripped "into their shirts, and that, had not an accident prevented them, they had got up on a "sign-post to drink the King's health; which was the subject of much derision, to say no "worse." Reresby, page 231. He is the same person, who, being afterwards knighted, and becoming the purchaser of the Duke of Buckingham's castle and estate, at Helmsley, in Yorkshire, is alluded to by Pope, in the following verse: —

"And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,
"Slides to a scrivener and a city knight."

THE END.

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